

THE AMERICAN

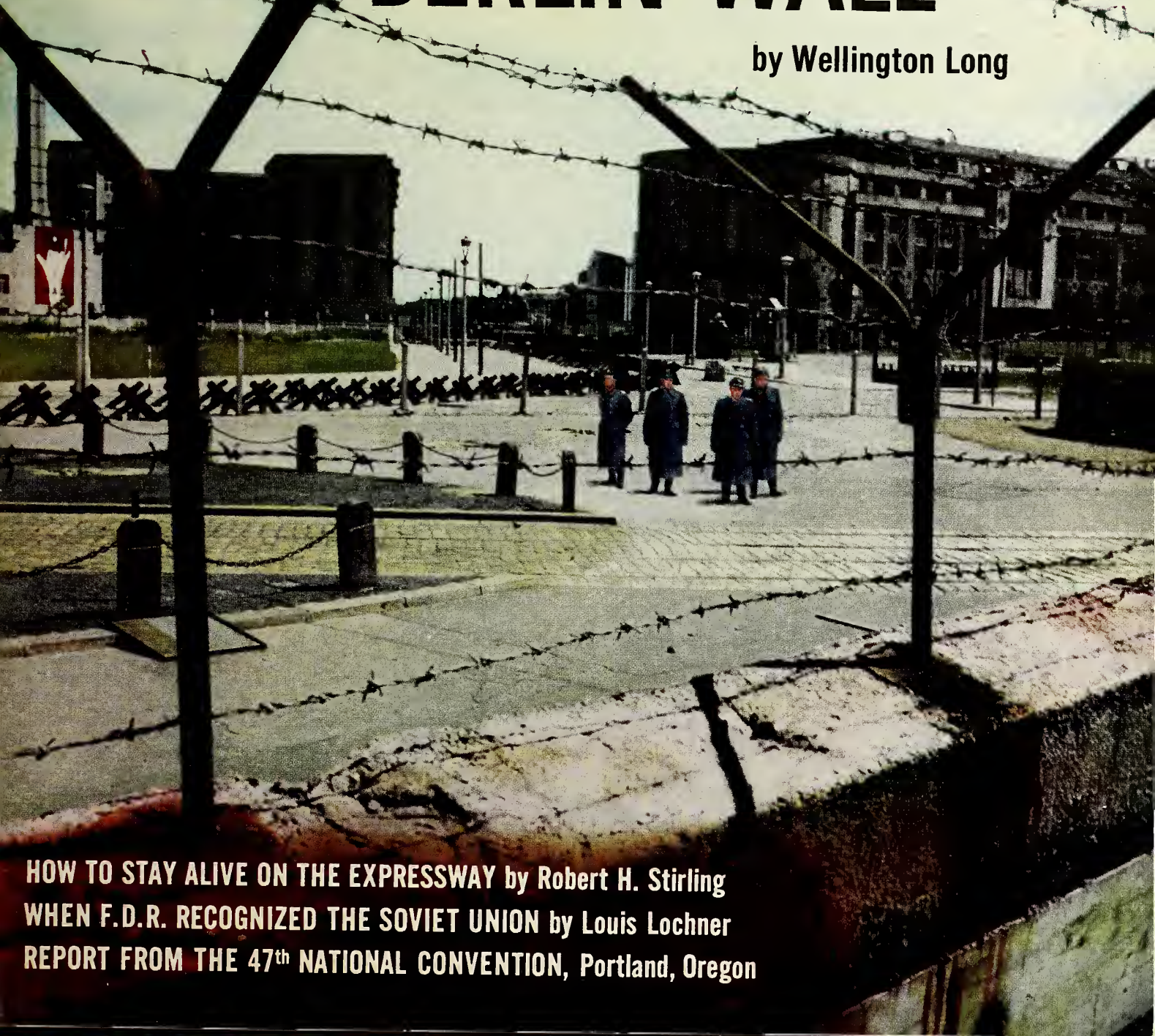
20c • OCTOBER 1965

LEGION

MAGAZINE

FOUR YEARS OF THE BERLIN WALL

by Wellington Long



HOW TO STAY ALIVE ON THE EXPRESSWAY by Robert H. Stirling
WHEN F.D.R. RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET UNION by Louis Lochner
REPORT FROM THE 47th NATIONAL CONVENTION, Portland, Oregon

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LEGION

Magazine

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BY-PLAY IN WASHINGTON

IN THESE TROUBLED times a little good, clean fun comes as a refreshing breeze. So we are happy to note a little by-play which happened in August, in case you missed it. It involved (1) a dilemma of Senator Everett Dirksen, of Illinois, (2) an innocent bill of Senator Karl Mundt, of South Dakota, and (3) the cute way in which American Legion National Commander Donald E. Johnson rose to the occasion to make a little publicity hay for a great program of The American Legion.

Senator Dirksen wasn't kidding in his efforts to get the Senate to approve an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to permit a state legislature to have at least one house elected on some basis other than population (as the U.S. Senate itself is elected). But he couldn't get the two-thirds vote he needed. Just about this time Senator Mundt introduced a resolution to recognize "American Legion Baseball Week—Aug. 31-Sept. 6." It was a proper resolution for Sen. Mundt to offer, as his state was set to be the scene of the Legion's youth baseball national finals (at Aberdeen, S. Dak.) during the week of Aug. 31. But now Sen. Dirksen, using an old legislative gimmick as a way to keep fighting for an apparently lost cause, offered an amendment to the Mundt bill so that it would not only recognize "American Legion Baseball Week," but would also amend the Constitution of the United States to permit a state legislature to have one house not elected on a population

EDITOR'S CORNER

basis. As a result, the Mundt proposal was temporarily beaten because of the Dirksen addition to it. Senator Mundt's office had to bring the original proposal regarding "American Legion Baseball Week" in all over again. But of course another result was a spate of publicity for "American Legion Baseball Week" which the Mundt bill by itself would never have attracted.

At that point a grateful Legion National Commander rose to the occasion. On August 6, in Sen. Dirksen's office, Commander Johnson presented both Senator Dirksen and Senator Mundt with baseball bats and balls and the joint title "Champions of American Legion Baseball."

Said Commander Johnson: "The American Legion has nominated these two great Senators for this honor due to the fact that by mutual effort, if not intent, they have given our national baseball championship series its greatest publicity in years. Naturally, the balls and bats we are presenting are those sponsored by one of baseball's greats, Ted Williams, who, like Yogi Berra, is a graduate of Legion baseball. I am sure you will appreciate that your hit-and-run publicity has drawn public attention to an American Legion athletic youth program that fielded almost 20,000 teams this year with about 200,000 teen-

agers playing our national pastime. I am proud to tell you that all Legion baseball teams are coached, trained and managed by Legionnaires, at their own expense, on their own time, as a positive contribution to American youth by The American Legion."

Meanwhile, Sen. Mundt's second effort to recognize "American Legion Baseball Week" succeeded, while Sen. Dirksen announced that he intended to keep on trying to overcome the Supreme Court's "reapportionment" ruling by amending the U.S. Constitution so as to permit a state to have at least one house elected on a basis comparable to that of U.S. Senators.

When the Mundt bill finally passed the Senate some weeks later, officially setting aside "American Legion Baseball Week," Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield told Mundt: "While we played into extra innings in an overtime game, I was never concerned about the outcome." Senator Dirksen had promised that he wouldn't pull the same stunt a second time.

SECRET PAPERS

THOSE FEW but noisy Americans who still claim that they know that the Viet Cong in South Vietnam is an "independent movement of South Vietnamese" rather than an arm of the North Vietnam Communist Party will be interested, perhaps, in the following captured communist instructions of 1962 emanating from North Vietnam:

"In regard to the foundation of the People's Revolutionary Party of South Vietnam, the creation of this party is only a matter of strategy; it needs to be explained within the party; and, to deceive the enemy, it is necessary that the new party be given an outward appearance corresponding to . . . the foundation of a new party, so that the enemy cannot use it in his propaganda.

"Within the party it is necessary to explain that the founding of the People's Revolutionary Party has the purpose of isolating the Americans and the Ngo Diem regime, and to counter their accusations of an invasion of the South by the North. It is means of supporting our sabotage of the Geneva agreement, of advancing the plan of invasion of the South . . . and to gain the sympathy of nonaligned countries in Southeast Asia.

"The People's Revolutionary Party has only the appearance of an independent existence; actually our party is nothing but the Lao Dong Party (North Vietnam Communists), unified from North to South, under the direction of the central executive committee of the Party, the chief of which is President Ho Chi Minh (of North Vietnam) . . . take care to keep this strictly secret, especially in South Vietnam . . . Do not put these explanations in party bulletins."

New document: "... One must not tell the people or party sympathizers that the People's Revolutionary Party and the Lao Dong Party of (North) Vietnam are one. One must not say that it is only a tactic. . . ."

New document: "Study the instructions . . . be careful they do not fall into enemy hands . . . destroy the written documents immediately . . ."

R.B.P.



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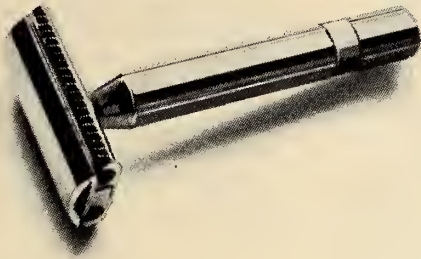
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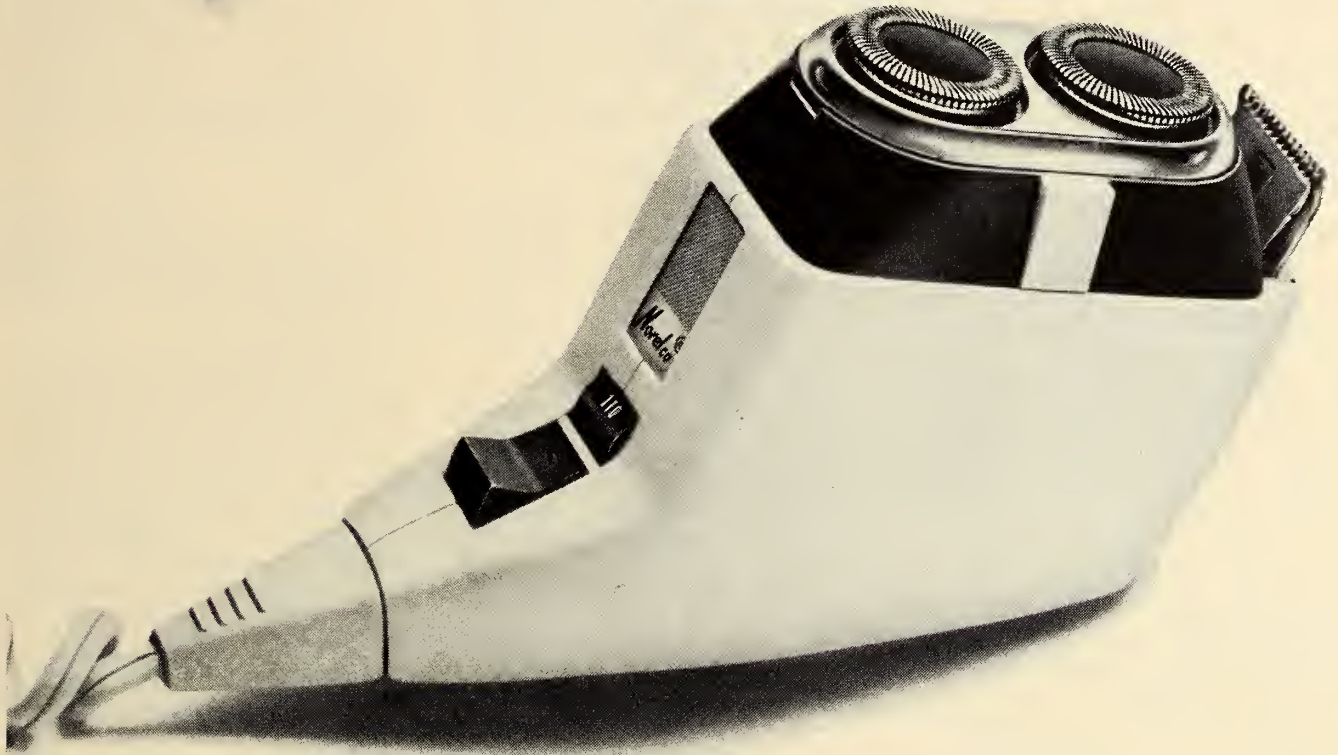
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters published do not necessarily express the policy of The American Legion. Keep letters short. Name and address must be furnished. Expressions of opinion and requests for personal services are appreciated, but they cannot be acknowledged or answered, due to lack of magazine staff for these purposes. Requests for personal services which may be legitimately asked of The American Legion should be made to your Post Service Officer or your state (Department) American Legion Hq. Send letters to the editor to: Letters, The American Legion Magazine, 720 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10019.

THE BUDGET BUREAU

SIR: Deane and David Heller and The American Legion Magazine are indeed to be congratulated on the very profound, excellent article entitled "The Extraordinary Powers of the Bureau of the Budget" (August).

FELIX M. MCWHIRTER
Chairman of the Board
Peoples Bank & Trust Company
Indianapolis, Ind.

SIR: The Budget Bureau would undoubtedly defend itself against your August article by saying that it needs its dictatorial powers over both men and laws in order to give us efficient and economical administration. To this I would quote John Stuart Mill: "What citizen of a free country would listen to any offers of good and skillful administration in return for the abdication of freedom?" The point at which men demand powers which our Constitution labored so hard to deny them is the point at which a free people should cheerfully settle for inefficient and uneconomical administration, if that is the consequence of refusing dictatorial powers. Mussolini made the trains run on time . . . ad nauseum.

J. MCF. HANSCOMBE
Seattle, Wash.

THE NATION'S CAPITAL

SIR: Allow me to express my appreciation for the splendid article, "How They Built the Nation's Capital," by Joseph L. Schott (August). Mr. Schott is to be congratulated and complimented for his able and exhaustive work of research which the article reflects.

As a long-time resident of Washington, I was not aware of the facts outlined in the article. Thanks to Mr. Schott, I now have a new and greater appreciation of the Capital city and its beginnings.

JOSEPH R. RICE
Washington, D.C.

SIR: May I add a postscript to one of the articles in your highly readable and substantial magazine? The article "How They Built the Nation's Capital" (August) overlooked the fact that Savannah, Ga., antedated Washington, D.C., by many years as a planned city. It is believed that Gen. Oglethorpe was influenced by the Genghis Khan Pekin Plan when he set up the design for Savannah. We call our series of pretty parks "squares," though when we try to

think up a good slogan to advertise these historical cases, "The City of Squares" simply will not do.

ANNA H. NORDHEIMER
Savannah, Ga.

SIR: In the illustrations for the article "How They Built the Nation's Capital" (August), a building is identified as the "President's Palace" (The White House). Recently, the Library of Congress investigated the sketch, with the result that the building has now been identified as Blodgett's Hotel.

BENJAMIN M. SHEETS
Marianna, Pa.

TOP SECRET

SIR: In your Nov. 1963 issue, bowling champ Don Carter selected one single phase of "how to bowl" that was most apt to help a bowler raise his average by ten pins. I and my teammates did our best to stick with his advice, no matter what happened in any one frame. In a year and a half the five of us have raised our team average 13 pins per man and moved from also-rans to champs of our 16-team league, after years of getting worse, not better. Carter's single point was to make sure you don't start to put a lift on the ball until it has passed the bottom point of its forward swing at the foul line. We want to thank you and Don Carter, but please withhold my name and our town so the guys we bowl against don't learn our secret. The league money we won this year was enough to pay our Legion dues for the next 20 years!

(NAME WITHHELD)
(Town withheld)
Ohio

AMPLIFICATION

SIR: The Pro and Con title in your August issue was "Should We Have Lower Interest Rates and More Credit Available." As the participant on the "No" side, I did not understand that this was to be the title, hence my remarks under that title do not properly represent my views. I wrote to the question of whether we should have more or less federal management of money, and it is my view that we should not have more controls than those presently exercised to assure an adequate supply of money to meet current needs of the economy. Within these limits, the natural operation of our free economic system, and its servant the monetary system, would dictate the amount of credit available and the level of interest rates at any given time. Only in this way can we protect those citizens who save and those on fixed or limited incomes. Certainly I would not argue for higher interest rates and less credit as the title might imply.

REP. BILL BROCK (Tenn.)
Washington, D.C.

Rep. Brock is right. Through a misunderstanding, he did not write to the

title actually used in our August Pro and Con.

SIR: On July 28, Legion Commander Donald E. Johnson was quoted to the President by a reporter, during a Presidential press conference, as saying that the Vietnam war could last five or six years. The President responded that he could not say how long or short it would be. This certainly backs up Commander Johnson's August editorial to the effect that the way things are going the President should keep all the VA hospitals open and close none.

WILLIAM A. BULMAN, Sr.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

SIR: The map in your travel article for August showed the town of Nauvoo in Iowa, not in Illinois, and the highways out of kilter. Was it printed out of register?

JOHN J. KLABER
Huntington, N.Y.

Yes. The map was in two colors, and the red plate was printed out of register. Don't anybody try to follow that map. Lord knows where you'd end up.

WORDS FROM BOYS' STATERS

SIR: I was a member of the 1934 Boys' State and enjoyed an unforgettable week at Colgate University learning the workings of our government. Since then, I have been constantly reminded of my experience through my complimentary subscription to your magazine. I hope that the members of the 1965 Boys' States and those in the future are also given the opportunity to be introduced to your fine magazine.

RICHARD J. SIEMBORSKI
New York, N.Y.

SIR: I would like to express the gratitude of all the boys who attended Boys' State at Auburn University in June to all the people who took part in planning the week for us, to the counselors, to the director, to past members of Boys' State, to each 1965 member and especially to The American Legion which makes Boys' State possible.

OLEN LARRY WAKEFIELD
Double Springs, Ala.

PHOTOGRAPHERS SEEK INTERESTED PARTIES

SIR: In 1944 I took an off-hours assignment to photograph the wife and young son of a Naval officer in their residence in San Diego. I was paid in advance, but when I tried to deliver the portraits the officer had shipped out and the wife and son had moved, leaving no address. I still have the portraits, and would be glad to deliver them if the family would identify itself to me now.

JIM DAVIDSON, President
Davco Electronics Corp.
P.O. Drawer 861
Batesville, Ark. 72501

SIR: I have a WW2 photo of a grave in an isolated area of Germany, with seven American fliers' names on it. If it is at all possible to locate relatives of the

deceased, I would be more than happy to furnish prints of the picture. The names, written on the marker, were: Richard Parsons, John L. Durr, Robert Johnston, James Schaen, Eduard Johnson, D. P. Smith and Brian Hurth.

ROBERT F. BLY
65 E. 67th Ave.
Crown Point, Ind. 46307

JOSEPH R. ROSEN, ENGROSSER

SIR: Your August editorial "A Dying Art" was a beautiful tribute to my late father, engrosser Joseph R. Rosen. He would have been so proud to know that you honored his passing as you did because his association with your organization was a very pleasant one. The thoughtfulness of my father's friends and associates is a source of comfort to my sister and me.

MRS. IRA LEE JACKSON
Newton Highlands, Mass.

SIR: Your "Editor's Corner" in the August issue concerning J. R. Rosen of Boston was wonderful; made me very happy, as others also. You were very thoughtful in giving Joe this place of honor.

ERNEST HOFTYZER
Marion, Mass.

FURTHER WORD ON STEPHEN FOSTER

SIR: May I take this moment to apologize for the delay in expressing our sincere appreciation for the very fine article, "The Life and Legend of Stephen Foster," by Tom Mahoney in the June issue of your magazine.

Many kind letters have been received concerning the article. One that was really appreciated was from Mrs. Alfred C. Morneweck, niece of Stephen Foster, who is his closest living relative.

We purchased 1000 copies of the article, which is being supplied to school libraries as reference material.

FOSTER L. BARNES, *Director*
Stephen Foster Memorial
White Springs, Fla.

CRUMMY?

SIR: I disagree with Mr. A. J. Peeler who stated in "Letters to the Editor" in the July issue that The American Legion Magazine is "crummy." Even I, a high school senior, can appreciate the vast amount of information between its covers. Just reading such articles as "The Lonely War in Vietnam" and "A New Kind of American Soldier" makes this magazine worthwhile. Keep up the good work!

DIANNE MOORE
Holly Springs, Ga.

THE BOOB BLIGHT

SIR: We are most grateful to you and Mr. Frank Remington for bringing "The Boob Blight" (August) to the attention of your readers in such an arresting manner. This is just what we need to wake up the would-be litterbug.

LUCY C. FISKE
Keep America Beautiful, Inc.
New York, N.Y.

SIR: I just read your fine article, "The Boob Blight." As a lover of the great

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CONTINUED

LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR

outdoors, it made me damned mad to see what a few unthinking boobs are doing to our national parks. I wonder if The American Legion could start a national campaign through its membership to alert the public to what is happening.

HEINO E. HUKARI
Hood River, Oreg.

SIR: Thank you for the article and I do hope the people who need to think about it, read it.

MRS. C. E. SULLIVAN
Martinsburg, W. Va.

SIR: I have just read "The Boob Blight" and have come to the conclusion that this is a nation of hogs.

VIOLA FARVER
Harrisburg, Pa.

SIR: The article proves what I've suspected for years: that the average American is a pig.

WILLIAM W. TERRILL
Indianapolis, Ind.

ECHOES & RE-ECHOES

T. R. Fehrenbach's July article "What Happened to the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence?" brought an avalanche of reader mail. On top of what appeared in September, here's a further sample of the continuing flood.

SIR: Nothing touched me quite as deeply as this article.

MRS. M. G. HARTZELL
Easton, Pa.

SIR: It was excellent.

MRS. F. E. BORCHERS
Omaha, Nebr.

SIR: Should be required reading by all students in all high schools throughout the country.

HUGO M. PFALTZ
Short Hills, N.J.

SIR: This story needed retelling and especially *now*!

DAN W. FLICKINGER
Indianapolis, Ind.

SIR: ... An eye opener.

ADOLPH GRAFFWEG
Hollywood, Fla.

SIR: ... Magnificent and enlightening.

A. F. CONTI
Burlington, N.J.

SIR: ... Superb research and reporting.

LUTHER F. MEYER
Fort Wayne, Ind.

SIR: I would like to receive 10 or 12 copies of the article to place in our elementary schools.

C. A. CHRIST
Superintendent of Schools
Lyons, Ill.

SIR: A fine, informative article.

PAUL M. OGG
Greenfield, Ind.

NEW LAWS FOR MOTORISTS.

U.S. COMMUNISTS OPTIMISTIC.

CENTRAL AMERICA CLOSES RANKS.

DATELINE WASHINGTON



That increasingly harassed American, the motorist, has suddenly this summer become the object of Congressional affections . . . Some 40 pieces of legislation aimed at benefiting the motorist's safety and wallet are hopping around in the legislative mill on Capitol Hill.

Already, this Congress has cut the federal excise tax on cars from 10% to 7%, and the levy will dwindle to 1% by 1969 . . . Next scheduled auto law will demand smog-retarding devices for all new cars as of fall of 1967.

Aroused by the national concern over the annual highway toll--48,000 killed, 3 million injured--Congressmen are also calling for collapsible steering wheels, crash-tight doors, highway safety devices, U.S. standards for tire safety . . . The federal government early this year set minimum safety standards for some 38,000 vehicles it purchases annually . . . Now some legislators want to apply these safety criteria to all autos sold in U.S.

FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover minces no words in his latest report . . . "The great majority of the 800 communist-bloc official personnel stationed in the United States, protected by the privilege of diplomatic immunity, have engaged in intelligence assignments and are a dangerous threat to the security of the United States."

As to domestic members of the Communist Party, Mr. Hoover says, our own U.S. reds and their supporters are continuing to be "a major disruptive influence on the national scene," concentrating on the restive youth.

The FBI director said that though the past year's racial and student demonstrations were neither instigated nor controlled by communists, the reds have utilized every opportunity to infiltrate many of the demonstrations so as to exploit them for their own objectives, adding:

"Communists today, in this country, are confident they are on the verge of swelling their ranks and are optimistic about their chances to expand their influence on the national scene in the coming year."

U.S. efforts to create a unified force under the Organization of American States have met with resistance by countries sensitive to outside interference of any kind . . . Turning over military control of the Dominican Republic from the United States to the O.A.S., under command of a Brazilian, alleviated that awkward situation, but set back hopes for a Pan-American army to deal with the reds.

Meanwhile, on their own, four Central American countries--Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras--have taken initial steps toward creating an integrated force to fight subversion . . . Castroites already are digging into the intercontinental neck of land that contains the Panama Canal.

The four little coffee countries are, together with Costa Rica, already economically formed into a developing common market . . . Costa Rica is thus far staying out of the defensive combine . . . Fact is Costa Rica is proud that its own defensive organization is tiny.

PEOPLE AND QUOTES:

UGLY ROADSIDES

"We have been so intent on providing the best roads in the world that we paid little or no attention to the blight that has been growing up along many of these roads." **Rep. Hale Boggs** (D-La.).

NOT US, FOR A CHANGE

"We are too wealthy and consequently unpopular." **Dr. Konrad Adenauer**, former Chancellor of free West Germany.

HE DOUBTS U.S.

"We held off the French for eight years. We can hold off the Americans for at least as long. Americans don't like long, inconclusive wars. This is going to be a long, inconclusive war." **Ho Chi Minh**, North Vietnam's communist leader.

CONFIDENT

"We are in a crisis situation. It is dangerous and it is difficult. But we have been there before; and this is a great nation, and I have no doubt about the result." **Sec'y of State Dean Rusk**.

ACADEMIC OPPORTUNITY

"Our university professors and students would serve their country and their profession with fruitful distinction if they were to . . . become not only academic but dynamic fighters against the Communist drive to dominate the world. . ." **George Meany**, President of the AFL-CIO.

AFTER TWO WARS

"After two world wars, most Americans have come to see that our own security and prosperity cannot be isolated from that of the rest of the globe." **Chester Bowles**, U.S. Ambassador to India.

THE BERLIN WALL has so stamped itself on the consciousness of the world that it seems far longer than four years ago, last August 13, that it was first thrown up as a barbed wire enclosure for a whole people. The barbed wire failed, to be replaced by cinder-block, cement, steel, more wire, and armed sentries who shoot on sight. It still leaks every day, as it did this past June 8, when Gregor Neumann shucked off his coat, shirt and trousers on the East Berlin side of a canal, bounded on the other side by the wall, and slipped into the dark waters. As he moved out of the deep shadows of the bank and into the floodlit stream, he heard an East German guard yell in surprise, then shoot.

The communist soldier's first burst was wide. But he got the range on the next one. Neumann felt a bullet strike, but terror drove him even faster through the water. As he fetched up against the cemented west bank, he felt a ladder, grabbed it and started to climb. Seeing his dark shape outlined against the embankment, the communists redoubled their fire. Neumann felt himself hit again and again, but he scrambled on to the top and started crawling away before he collapsed. A West Berlin civilian found him lying unconscious beneath some shrubbery.

Twenty-two-year-old Neumann was lucky. Bullet wounds in his lungs, knee, heel, arm and buttocks were repaired by surgery. He'll live to have children and to tell their children about his flight from communism on the night of June 8, 1965.

But a wooden cross on the West Berlin side of the canal, on which he had set his sights, was raised and decorated with a crown of rusty barbed wire in memory of others killed in the water before they finished their desperate race.

A review of the greatest monument to its

By WELLINGTON LONG

Every night, one, two or three East Germans make it safely to West Berlin, clawing a path through, over, under or around the wall of cement, steel and wire that divides the communist and free worlds here. Four or five nights a week, communist soldiers spot them and open fire. In four years, at least 57 persons have laid down their lives at the wall as if it were some monstrous sacrificial altar to an evil god, and only the communists know how many more refugees were cut down or captured before they reached safety in the West.

For every 60 who beat the wall, at least one person dies in the attempt. Yet the possibility of failure or death still doesn't deter East Germans who find it intolerable to continue living under communism or separated from families living in the West. The lid the communists clamped over the last free exit from East Germany won't seal tight.

For 16 years, from the arrival of the allies in Berlin in the summer of 1945, until August 13, 1961, the communists had left this one escape hatch open.

East Germany had been quickly sealed off from West Germany after the end of the war, by miles of barbed wire and thousands of land mines. But if an East German could reach East Berlin, he was halfway to freedom.

Berlin is in the heart of East Germany, surrounded by territory under communist control. For 20 years, the Western allies have managed to hold the Russians to their guarantee that there be freedom of movement of goods and persons between West Berlin and West Germany.

The Russian attempt to renege on the guarantee during the Soviet blockade of West Berlin's land supply routes for 11 months in 1948 and 1949 was overcome by the famous Air Lift.

Since 1948, Berlin itself has had two administrations, communist in the east, a freely-elected one in the west. The Western allies tried to insist the city be treated as a single unit. But the communists cut the telephone and telegraph lines, and municipal bus service ended on either side of the demarcation line. However, until 1961, the communists permitted movement between the two halves of the city on the same basis that residents on either side of an international frontier cross freely between the two countries. Sixty thousand Berliners lived on one side of the line and worked on the other, using 81 elevated and subway, automobile and pedestrian crossing points authorized by the communists.

In those days of free passage between the two Berlins, the communist regime had decreed that only East Berliners could visit West Berlin—not East Germans. But as the seat of the East German Government was in East Berlin, several thousand East Germans had legitimate business there every day, and it was easy for them to join the crowds riding the elevated "S-Bahn" or subway "U-Bahn" trains to West Berlin during rush hours. The communists tried to enforce pass and goods controls on the trains, but it was impossible to make more than the most cursory spot checks as they raced between stations.

For years, hundreds of East Germans sneaked into West Berlin every day. Many remained only a few hours, to sit at a sidewalk cafe in uncommon luxury while reading a Western newspaper or just girl-watching, to go shopping, to take in a movie or play, or to visit friends and relatives. Most movie houses and theaters offered cut rates to anyone with an East Berlin or East German identity card, on the theory that their currency was worth only a fifth of the western Deutsche mark.

Some of the daily quota of visitors always stayed. Usually they had only the clothes on their backs because to attempt to carry more would attract the attention of the communist police patrolling the trains and result in arrest. But some of the more daring would have made several previous visits wearing two suits or dresses at a time and carrying another in a shopping bag until most of their personal wardrobe had been transferred to a friend's apartment.

GERMAN INFORMATION CENTER



A "warden" escapes. The Berlin Wall had barely been erected when this East German guard leaped to liberty.

own failure that any nation ever erected.

Four Years *of the* Berlin Wall

WIDE WORLD

A few of the refugees took up residence in West Berlin, but most asked to be flown to West Germany where they could easily find a job and make a new start. The West German Government financed special daily flights for the refugees, who could not travel to West Germany by rail or highway because they would have been arrested at the first communist control point when leaving the city to start across East Germany. The planes flew from airfields within West Berlin, and despite threats, the communists were unwilling to take the risk involved in forcing down one of these planes to look over and perhaps remove some of the passengers. All of the planes were either American, British or French, and the communists wanted to avoid a direct confrontation with them.

During those pre-1961 years of the "nickel ticket to freedom," the number of refugees entering West Berlin rose and fell in direct proportion to the temperature of the Cold War. The East Germans developed an uncanny ability to sense impending developments, and most major world crises were heralded by a sharp increase in the refugee rate. Even in non-crisis years, between 6,000 and 8,000 persons registered as political refugees in West Berlin every month and were flown to West Germany. Others were escaping across the long border between West and East Germany, but as that was patrolled more closely and the death zone along the frontier was widened, emphasis shifted to Berlin. The communists themselves admitted that the population of East Germany decreased by 1.2 million, or 7%, between 1951 and 1961. The only other peace-time migration that could match it was that from Ireland during the time of the potato blight a century earlier. Half of the East Germans who fled were people under 25 years of age, precisely those the communist regime needed to make its unwieldy economic machine run faster.

Actually, by the time the communists resorted to the wall in 1961, the enormous total of 2,594,502 people had slipped out of East Germany in the ten and a half years starting with 1950. In the month of June 1953, 58,605 people escaped to freedom. In July 1961, the month before the wall went up, 30,145 fled. They were bleeding East Germany to death, and by their numbers advertising to the world a massive popular rejection of communism by people forced to live under it.

The Russians had threatened for years to take some action to force the allies out of West Berlin and end its function of what the communists describe as "a cold war bastion." Deadlines were set, but allowed to pass when the Western allies made it clear they couldn't be

The wall as it divides Sebastian Strasse in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin.

CONTINUED FOUR YEARS OF THE BERLIN WALL

scared away. Nevertheless, when Soviet Premier Khrushchev met President Kennedy in Vienna in June 1961, he handed him a brutally worded note repeating his threats against West Berlin, this time setting the end of that year as a new deadline. A sense of imminent disaster, what the Germans call "Torschlusspanik," swept East Germany.

Fearing that the last escape hatch was about to be slammed shut, thousands decided, often from one hour to the next, to abandon everything and head for Berlin. By the end of July as many refugees were reaching West Berlin in a week as came normally in a month. The Western allies realized the situation was getting out of hand, and their foreign ministers held an emergency meeting in Paris. During the two days of discussion, 10,000 more refugees reached West Berlin, five times as many as came in most weeks.

In assessing communist intentions, the allied ministers and their advisors divided into two schools. One shared the view of West Berlin's plucky Lord Mayor, Willy Brandt, that the communists would never dare block the flow of refugees for fear they would spark another anticommunist revolt in East Germany like that of 1953. The other thought the communists would act to stem the flow, but do so by requiring East Germans to have special passes to leave their home towns, and by making it tougher for them to visit East Berlin.

None of the ministers who met in Paris on August 5-7 imagined anything remotely like a wall through the heart of Berlin, and their intelligence services failed them, too.

East German Premier and Communist Party chief Walter Ulbricht had been in Moscow just before the allies met in Paris, and secretly received the green light to seal the border between West and East Berlin, the one thing the westerners thought he'd never dare to do.

On Sunday, August 13, 1961, at 2 a.m., when travel between the two parts of Berlin was at its lowest ebb, two East German motorized divisions entered the city and occupied the demarcation line. Ulbricht announced that henceforth no East German or East Berlin resident could visit West Berlin for any reason. West Berliners could no longer visit East Berlin.

Inside West Berlin, the allies still guaranteed security. But West Berlin's 2.2 million residents, for years forbidden to leave their city to visit the surrounding countryside, now also found half the city banned to them. And the last route for an East German to take to freedom without risking death was closed, presumably forever.

Initially, the border was sealed with a fence. Thousands of communist soldiers guarded factory and construction worker "press gangs" forced to build it. For 29 miles it ran from Waidmann's Lust in the north to Rudow in the south, cutting through the vitals of the city, with the former Reichstag (House of Parliament) on the western side, the former government buildings on the east, across Potsdamer Platz—an enormous plaza into which six great avenues empty and once Europe's busiest square—and through the center of the newspaper district. The only elevated and subway railway lines still permitted to cross the frontier ended at the first station in East Berlin, on platforms sealed except for one tiny and guarded exit.

On both sides, the weeping, unbeliev-

sion. But, nonetheless, hundreds made mad dashes to break out to freedom before the frontier was perfectly sealed. Sometimes the guards joined in the flight. One photographer snapped a picture of a communist soldier, steel helmet on his head, submachine gun over his right shoulder, leaping a roll of the barbed wire to freedom.

When the communists realized the wire wouldn't hold in a really determined East German, they began replacing it with a wall. They built it of four-foot long cement slabs used in "Socialist" building techniques. But instead of standing them on their narrow edges, the communists laid the slabs broadside down, so that the wall was two feet thick. When finished, it was 11 feet tall, topped with another 18 inches of barbed wire. To



Tug of war. Communists seized the hands of this 77-year-old woman as she tried to jump to freedom. A young West Berliner leaped to a lower window, seized her feet and successfully brought her into the waiting net held by a West Berlin fire brigade.

ing people came down to the demarcation line to stare in shock at this bizarre barrier which in a night had cut through three million lives. Hardly a family was unaffected. Mothers were separated from children, fiancés from fiancées, men and women from their jobs, families from their gardens, students from their schools, churches from their parishioners, mourners from the cemeteries where their dead were buried.

The menacing force of communist German soldiers along the border, and the knowledge that 20 Soviet divisions lurked around the city to put down any attempted revolt, as they had put down the 1953 uprising, prevented an explo-

block anyone crashing through in a car or truck, steel antitank traps were cemented into place on the eastern side.

The first casualties were reported almost immediately. On August 19, 1961, six days after the border was sealed, 47-year-old Rolf Urban died of injuries sustained when he jumped from his second-floor apartment in the Bernauerstrasse to the sidewalk which was in West Berlin. Three days later, 58-year-old Ida Siekmann was killed jumping from the fourth floor of the same building. The following week, 24-year-old Guenter Litfin was shot to death while trying to swim across the Humboldt harbor.

Litfin was the first of more than 20

men who were to die in Berlin's canals and rivers, shot to death by communist guards on the banks or in patrol boats. The guards often fired 200 or more rounds from their machineguns until their victim sank beneath the surface.

The communists moved families out of the houses fronting on their wall and bricked up the windows and doors, so refugees took to the roofs. On October 4, 1961, 22-year-old Berndt Luenser and a friend were seen waving frantically from behind a chimney on the roof of Bernauerstrasse 44. The West Berlin fire department was called, but as they arrived, communist soldiers climbing from the other direction reached the roof and started struggling with the two fleeing men. Luenser broke loose from one, and as the soldiers began firing pistols at him, turned and jumped. He missed the safety net West Berlin firemen were holding on the street below. The communists beat his companion to death on the rooftop, in view of horrified West Berliners. That night, work troops began fastening rolls of barbed wire to the roofs of all buildings at the demarcation line.

Some East Berliners tried to slip through unused subway tunnels or over elevated railway bridges. The communists bricked up the tunnels and erected steel gates on the bridges. Desperate men reached freedom through the sewer lines, so the communists cemented iron bars in them. Barbed wire was stretched along the bottoms of the rivers and canals, parallel with the bank, to trap would-be escapees. In December 1961, 25 persons broke through to West Berlin in a commuter train. The tracks were torn up.

An army mechanic stole a tank he was repairing and smashed through a checkpoint at one of the few openings in the wall. The communists deepened their control zone, so that anyone approaching a crossing point was delayed by an initial barrier and checkpoint a block away.

Some, like 18-year-old Peter Fechter, attempted frontal attacks on the wall. He was shot as he gained the top of the wall, and turned to help another lad up. He fell back on to the eastern side, where he bled to death. Austrian student Dieter Wohlfahrt was shot to death while cutting a path through the barbed wire for the mother of a friend.

When the wall failed to discourage attempts to breach it, the communists cleared a wider sterile zone behind it, knocking down anything that provided cover for an escapee, and mounted powerful lights which shone all night on the wall. Fierce police dogs were hooked to wires hung between poles which let them roam back and forth along the wall for 100 yards.

But for every hole the communists closed, the Germans found another.

Two married couples with 11 children between them slipped through a control point by hiding in a truckload of frozen beef.

Repeatedly, West Germans or foreigners smuggled people out of East Berlin by hiding them in false compartments in their cars. The communists tried to measure all cars in hopes of finding such sections, but didn't always calculate correctly. Once, a young man smuggled out his fiancée by strapping her beneath his low slung sports car. When they read of that escape, the communists started inspecting the undersides of all cars by shoving mirrors mounted on tiny wheels beneath them.

Several men bluffed their way through the checkpoint used by foreigners by wearing homemade uniforms and showing forged documents. Two West Berlin men claimed they smuggled 386 persons out of East Berlin over a period of 32 months by using "Confederation Diplomatique" passes issued as a kind of joke by an expensive Munich night club catering to bored playboys.

In early 1964, some East Berlin youths discovered that one West Berlin subway train passed briefly and without stopping through a part of East Berlin, and traveled above the surface in a ditch for about 1,000 yards. One boy leaped on the train as it sped past, while a chum watched. Before the second boy did the same thing, he told another. And so it went, until 17 in a high school class of 25 disappeared. The teacher tipped the police who caught the 18th lad about to jump.

But the tunnel builders were the most ingenious planners. The first tunnels, reported in early 1962, were built from east to west. West Berlin students, excited by the idea, formed several groups to tunnel into East Berlin and bring out relatives and friends. A tunnel needed engineering—to plot course and depth through the treacherous sandy soil to a place in East Berlin hidden from the prying eyes of the communist police and informers, and to plan movement of work crews and equipment into and dirt out of the tunnel entrance on the western side without alerting communist lookouts stationed on towers to sweep the area ceaselessly with powerful binoculars. Student tunnel builders needed money, and they got it from magazines, German and foreign television film companies, relatives who wanted someone brought out or simply by taking up a collection.

The largest group known to have escaped by tunnel came out during a weekend in October 1964. Fifty-seven persons, including 31 women and three children, crept through it before a communist policeman discovered it. One of the tunnel builders was armed, and killed

the cop before retreating through the shaft to West Berlin.

A 38-year-old high-wire performer named Horst Klein escaped in December 1962, by climbing, hand over hand, along a high-tension cable whose power had been cut off. The wire crossed the wall, but the cable and poles were outside the beam of the fixed lights. Klein could see and hear communist patrols walking beneath as he labored across the wire on a bitterly cold night. When he reached

PIP PHOTO



West Berliners tearfully wave to friends on the other side of the wall.

the western side, he was so exhausted he just dropped, breaking both arms and legs.

But Klein had left a wife and child in East Berlin, and after a few months became remorseful. In late 1963, he returned to them. The communists sentenced him to 30 months imprisonment for a crime described as "fleeing the re-

(Continued on page 44)

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SEEING HISTORIC AMERICA #16

A travel series for motorists



Lexington & Concord today: Battle Green, where first shots were fired in Revolution; the Minute Man statue; Old North Bridge.

LEXINGTON & CONCORD

Where the Revolution started



(Readers may find this series of value on future motor trips or of interest to students of American history. We suggest you clip and save each one as it appears.)

By **ALDEN STEVENS**

Field Director, Mobil Travel Guide

THE FIRST BATTLE of the American Revolution took place at Lexington, Mass., about 11 miles northwest of Boston, on today's State Route 4. It continued to Concord, about 8 miles farther west. Today, the Old North Bridge at Concord has been rebuilt, and Daniel Chester French's famous statue of the Minute Man, made familiar to all as a symbol for U.S. War Bonds, stands near it. On the Battle Green at Lexington (still kept green) is a boulder with Capt. John Parker's order to the Minutemen engraved on it: "Stand your ground. Don't fire unless fired upon; but if they mean to have a war, let it begin here!" Nearby is the memorial to the Lexington Minutemen by Bashka Paeff.

It was on April 19, 1775, that Gen. Thomas Gage sent about 700 British soldiers to destroy military stores and equipment held by the Provincial Congress in Concord. Unknown to General Gage, every move he made was watched and reported. Paul Revere and William Dawes preceded the expeditionary force and warned Samuel Adams and John Hancock in Concord, as well as hundreds of patriots along the way.

There were only about 75 Minutemen on the green at Lexington when the British arrived. It was obvious to Capt. John

Parker that his little band was hopelessly outnumbered by the advance guard of more than 400 British regulars. Yet he spoke his bold and famous "Stand your ground" order.

The British fired two volleys and attacked with fixed bayonets. Eight Americans were killed and ten wounded. Parker and his men were forced to withdraw and the British marched on to Concord.

Here the story was different. There were 400 Minutemen. They attacked across the North Bridge and drove the



British back in confusion to begin their retreat to Bunker Hill in Charlestown. They were harassed all along the way by Minutemen and citizens. The Revolution had begun in earnest.

There is a remarkably familiar feeling for Americans who visit this ground. Not only did the Revolution begin here, but for years these towns were centers of American culture and literature. Ralph Waldo Emerson lived in Concord from 1835 until his death in 1882 and his house still stands. Henry Thoreau was born in Concord and his Walden

Pond is just south of town. The "Old Manse" was Rev. William Emerson's parsonage and later the home of Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose writings include "The Scarlet Letter" and "The House of Seven Gables."

The Emerson House and the Old Manse are open to the public.

At Lexington, the Buckman Tavern, where the Minutemen assembled before the battle, and the Munroe Tavern, British Headquarters, still stand and are packed with relics and exhibits.


Boston is within easy reach. Its "Freedom Trail," a well-marked walk through the central area, passes 15 points of interest to students of U.S. history.

1965 Motel and Restaurant Info:

At Concord: *Excellent*—Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge, Elm St., 2 miles west on MASS 2. 78 rooms, pool. Restaurant, bar. (617) 369-6100. *Excellent*—Concordian Motel, Hosmer St., Acton, 5 miles west on MASS 2. 52 rooms, pool. (617) 263-7765. *Very good*—Petite Auberge Restaurant, Summer St., Maynard, 6 miles west on MASS 62. Lunch, dinner. Closed Sunday. French cuisine. Specialties: beef a la Bourguignonne, frogs legs Provencal. (617) TW 7-2850. **At Lexington:** *Very good*—Battle Green Motor Inn, 1720 Massachusetts Ave., 90 rooms, pool. Restaurant. (No bar; Lexington is dry). (617) VO 2-6100. *Very good*—Lexington Motor Inn, Marrett Rd., 2½ miles west on MASS 2A. 64 rooms, pool. Restaurant. (617) 862-2726. (There are many other accommodations nearby. See Mobil Travel Guide to the Northeastern States.)

Your visit to any historic area is greatly enriched if you read about it first. John C. Miller's "Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783" is a good history of the Revolution. Townsend Scudder's "Concord: American Town" tells the story of the area.

How to Stay Alive

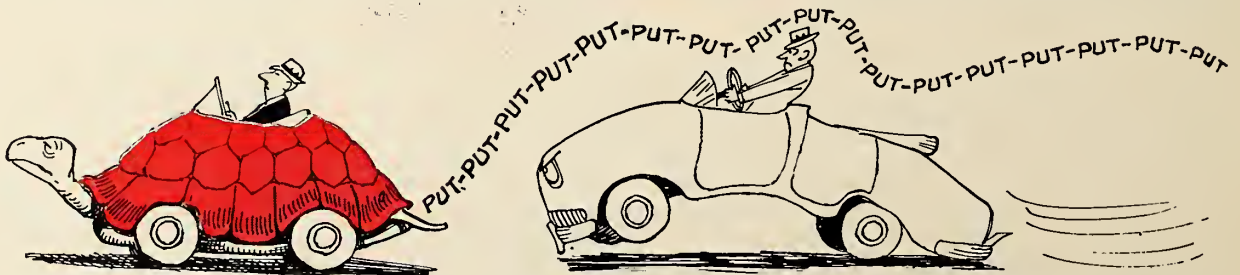


SCREEEEEEEE

YIELD

A black and white cartoon illustration depicting a race or chase between two vehicles on a steep, hilly road. On the left, a small red convertible car is shown from a side profile, moving uphill. It has a driver wearing a cap and a passenger. To its right and slightly behind, a much larger white bus is also climbing the hill. The bus has a friendly-looking face with large, expressive eyes on its front grille area. A destination sign above the windshield reads "NEWVILLE". The hillside itself is represented by simple curved lines, and the word "PUT-PUT-PUT-PUT-PUT-PUT-P" is written along the slope, suggesting engine noise or a rhythmic sound effect. Motion lines around both cars indicate they are moving quickly.

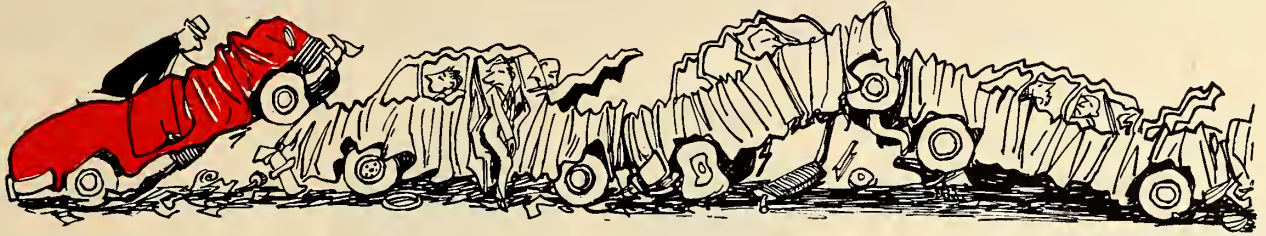
It can be death to go poking out of a speed-up strip at 30 m.p.h. into a flow of 65 m.p.h. traffic. Can be? It *has* been death, time and again. Lie back on the strip and look for a completely safe opening in the main traffic, then accelerate to flow into the opening at expressway speed.



to match the speed of the rest of the traffic by constantly changing his pace within the limits of posted permissible speed. Keeping steady pace with the bulk of the traffic is the safest speed on expressways. It minimizes the need for others to react to you and hence the chance that one driver may fail to respond to your erratic driving in time.

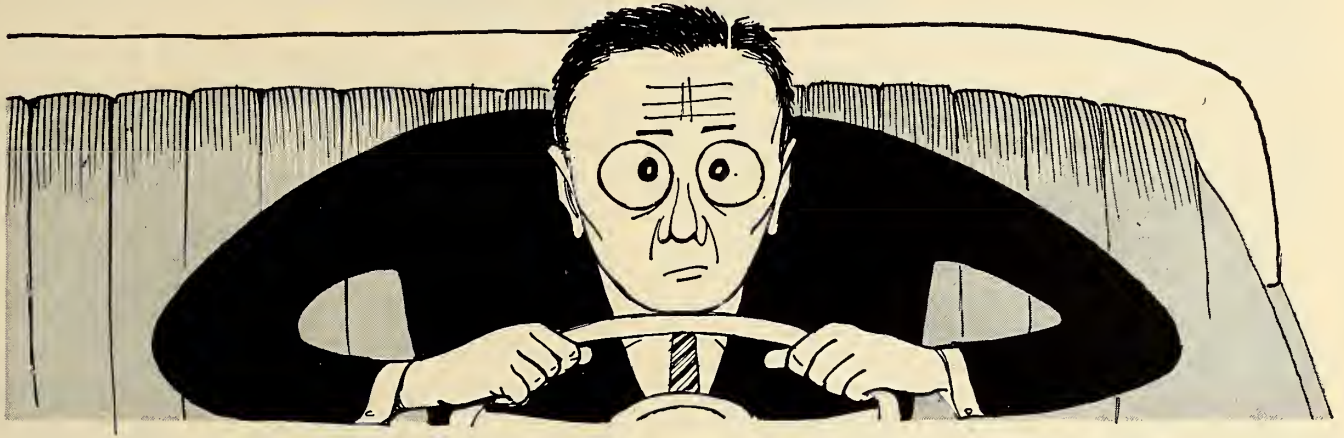
on the Expressway

Some common sense based
on insurance records and fleet operators' experience.



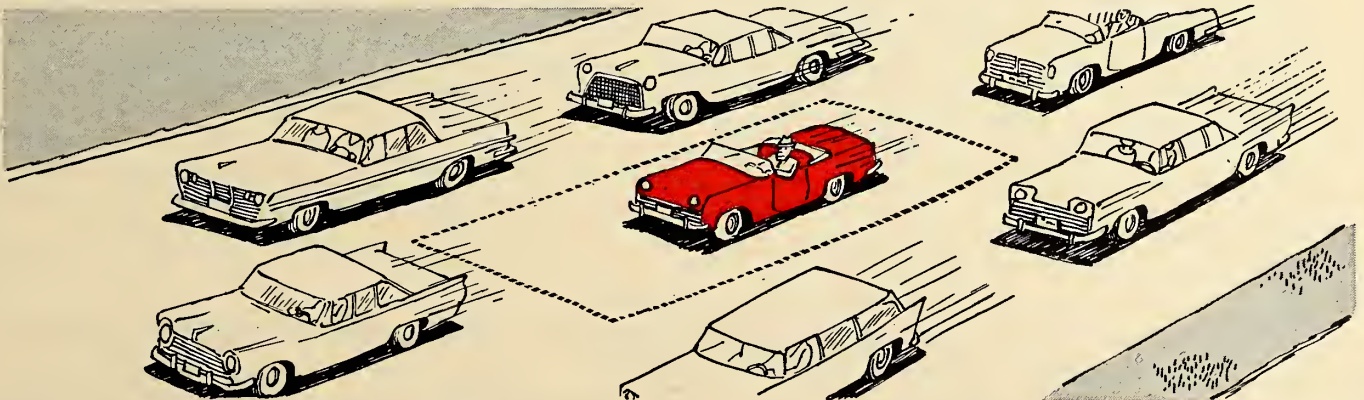
TAIL-GATING. The Travelers Insurance Companies' records of their own fleets, and of auto insurance cases, show that the expressway driver is very likely to become involved in a chain-reaction accident if he doesn't hang back a reasonable distance from the car in front of him. Commonest advice is to allow at least one car-length of empty space for

every 10 m.p.h. of speed. Tail-gating (riding hard on the rear of the car in front) has been identified as the *principal cause* of accidents on expressways. If you don't allow maneuvering room and stopping room, a slowdown or stoppage so far ahead that it is out of sight can have you piled up in a twinkling. Some tail-gating pileups have involved more than 30 cars.



THE FIXED STARE. The expressway driver *must* "keep his eyes on the road" but *not* as though he were hypnotized. If you stare straight ahead your ability to see things "out of the corner of your eye" narrows. Keep your eyes moving—

far ahead, near, sideways, at your rear and side mirrors. This optical exercise will help keep you mentally awake as well as it will maintain your peripheral vision while driving on often-monotonous expressways.



THE SAFETY ZONE. Develop the habit of being constantly aware not only of the car in front, but of those at your sides and behind you.

Awareness of your relation to all cars near you is invaluable in helping make the right instantaneous response to any emergency. And now that you know where all of your nearby fellow-drivers are, do your best to maintain a "safety zone"

with respect to all of them. You can't always do it on a crowded highway, but good, long-lived "defensive drivers" make it a habit to drift away from tail-gaters on their own rears and cars that crowd them on their sides, even if it means dropping behind them.

They also note how other drivers are driving and try to ease out of the neighborhood of an erratic driver. **THE END**

ILLUSTRATED BY CARL ROSE



SHOULD THE UNITED STATES

YES

Rep. Adam C. Powell (D-N.Y.)
18th District



THE UNITED STATES should resume diplomatic relations with Cuba if only because we maintain diplomatic ties with the communist dictatorships of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania, the tyrannies of Spain and Portugal and the race-hating despotism of South Africa.

But consistency has never been a predictable component of American foreign policy. Consequently, a list of all the disagreeable governments in the world with whom we disagree—yet still recognize—does not necessarily solve the problem of communist Cuba.

What distinguishes Cuba from other communist governments is its location in the Western Hemisphere. Worse, from the standpoint of our national security, Cuba is only 190 air miles from Miami, Fla.

By itself, Cuba's pip-squeak military apparatus is hardly a threat to our national security. But as part of an international communist conspiracy, Cuba becomes a venomous danger to America.

For this country to tolerate Cuba's communist dictatorship—if we are to be consistent—is to deny the contemporary validity of the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 which we insist still guides our foreign policy.

In today's world, shrunk by global military alliances, intercontinental missiles, nuclear power, "gun-boat diplomacy" and the new togetherness of the Organization of American States, the Monroe Doctrine is little more than a nationally cherished antique.

Therefore, the question of renewing diplomatic ties with Cuba must be subsumed by two larger questions:

1.) Should the U.S. maintain diplomatic relations

with any communist or communist-controlled government?

2.) How operative in today's world of 1965 power realities is an 1823 doctrine?

To answer the first question, we do. Our recognition of and diplomatic relations with several communist tyrannies is a fact of our foreign affairs.

The second question is answered by the passage of time and the swift change in power relations between nations. The Monroe Doctrine is outmoded.

By maintaining diplomatic ties with Cuba and fostering an economically viable Cuba, the U.S. may be hastening the possibility of Castroism becoming a Latin-American form of Titoism, an ideology we find it infinitely easier to live with than international communism.

In the final analysis, the problem lies in what the distinguished Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, once termed our "excessive moralism which binds us to old myths and blinds us to new realities."

It lies in the history of our shoddy, white supremacy-oriented, paternalistic policies toward Latin America, with our loving support of any swaggering South American dictator ruthlessly murdering his own people which we condoned so long as he was anti-communist.

Chopping off recognition of Cuba doesn't remove the cancer of world communism or the threat of communism in the Western Hemisphere.

It only covers this festering malignancy with the weak and unrealistic powder of our self-conceit.

Adam C. Powell

If you wish to let your Congressman or one of your Senators know how you feel on this big issue, fill out the "ballot" on the facing page and mail it to him.---

RECOGNIZE COMMUNIST CUBA?

NO

Rep. Armistead I. Selden, Jr. (D-Ala.)
5th District

RECOGNITION OF Castro Cuba by the United States would represent the greatest surrender of national principle and honor—and the worst foreign policy setback—in the history of this country.

It would be the ultimate appeasement of aggressive international communism. Because it would constitute a betrayal of the people of Cuba and their aspirations for freedom from red domination, recognition of the Castro regime would signal the collapse of Free World defenses against communism from West Berlin to Saigon.

Indeed, the people of the world would ask: "How can the United States claim that it means to defend Western Europe and Southeast Asia from communist aggression when it acquiesces to such aggression in its own backyard?"

Since the early days of the Republic, we have regarded the defense of our hemisphere—and its freedom from foreign totalitarian influence—as a bedrock foreign policy principle. The efficacy of this principle was amply borne out at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

The Soviet attempt to make a missile base of Castro's Cuba made clear to all the world that the Castro regime was a mere communist pawn in the Caribbean. This blood-stained dictatorship does not represent the people of Cuba, but only the communist masters who maintain and support it.

Nor did Castro or his Kremlin masters really alter their goal following that 1962 confrontation. Since the



missile crisis, the communist Cuban regime has continued to serve as a base for subversion and aggression throughout the hemisphere—fomenting riot and revolt against established Latin American governments.

The Organization of American States has studied the evidence of Castro communist subversion in Venezuela and branded the Cuban regime an aggressor. And the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, of which I am chairman, has produced two reports fully detailing communist Cuban subversion against legitimate governments in Central and South America.

Thus, those who advocate recognition and a "soft" line in the face of Cuba's relentless effort to destroy the inter-American system are in effect seeking to reward communist aggression. Today, as in the 1930's, there is but one word to describe this policy: *appeasement*.

Just as the British Government of the 1930's sacrificed the freedom of the people of Austria and Czechoslovakia in the face of Nazi aggression, a new breed of short-sighted appeasers now seeks to sacrifice the freedom of the people of Cuba and Latin America to communist aggression.

We are pledged—by solemn agreement with other countries of the hemisphere—to curb and finally eradicate communism in the Americas. This pledge must be carried out. Communism in the Western Hemisphere—as the late President Kennedy declared—is not negotiable.

Armistead I. Selden, Jr.

I have read in The American Legion Magazine
for October the arguments in PRO & CON:
Should the United States Recognize Communist Cuba?

THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE

IN MY OPINION THE UNITED STATES

☐ SHOULD ☐ SHOULD NOT RECOGNIZE COMMUNIST CUBA.

SIGNED

ADDRESS

TOWN..... STATE.....

WHEN F.D.R. RECOGNIZED

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER

IT WILL BE 32 years this November 17 since the United States officially recognized the communist regime in Moscow as the legal government of the Russian people. On that date in 1933 the National Executive Committee of The American Legion met in Indianapolis and noted that its resolution "unalterably opposing the diplomatic recognition of the Communist Soviet Government of Russia" has been "called to the attention of the President of the United States." It also noted, forlornly, that "the present situation relative to recognition of Russia is being carried in the daily press."

Around midnight of the same day, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

Maxim Litvinov, exchanged letters confirming their understandings on the basis of which U.S. recognition was being granted. The two architects of this achievement then shook hands and toasted each other with a glass of newly legalized 3.2% beer.

Recognition of the USSR was controversial then, and the controversy is not dead yet.

Following the Bolshevik coup d'état of November 7, 1917, 16 years elapsed without recognition of the Soviets by the United States. Five American Presidents (Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Roosevelt) were faced with the problem, as were Secretaries of State Bainbridge Colby, Charles Evans Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg, Henry L. Stimson and Cordell Hull.

UPI

WIDE WORLD



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. Litvinov:

I am very happy to inform you that as a result of our conversations the Government of the United States has decided to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to exchange ambassadors.

I trust that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. Litvinov,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mr. Maxim M. Litvinov,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt signed letter establishing diplomatic relations with Russia. In two years, cordiality cooled.

THE SOVIET UNION

A story of personal diplomacy and great expectations in 1933.

The Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in 1917, headed by Nicolai Lenin and Leon Trotsky, occurred during Woodrow Wilson's second term as President. Trotsky, as Commissar of Foreign Affairs, almost immediately asked all the accredited foreign envoys in Petrograd for recognition. Neither the United States nor any of our allies replied affirmatively. They and we, in fact, supported counterrevolutionary movements in Russia.

It was not long before our allies adjusted themselves to the new situation and one by one recognized the USSR, but we persisted in our refusal.

A stinging letter from Serge Chicherin, Trotsky's successor in the Russian Foreign Office, addressed to President Wilson early in 1919, further aggravated the strained relations. Our

President was at that time attending the Allied Peace Conference in Paris from which the Treaty of Versailles emerged.

To obtain first-hand personal information about the new leaders of Russia, Mr. Wilson sent William C. Bullitt, a 27-year-old attaché of the American delegation, on a secret mission to Moscow.

Bullitt was thoroughly impressed with the Bolshevik regime and deeply convinced that the Russian people desired a socialist form of government. He worked out an agreement with Chicherin which was calculated to make recognition possible.

Back in Paris, Bullitt failed to win President Wilson's support of the proposed agreement. All information from the United States indicated that the American people thoroughly disliked and distrusted the communists. Grievously disap-

WIDE WORLD

SOVOFOTO



Washington,

November 16, 1933.

My dear Mr. President:

I am very happy to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is glad to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States and to exchange ambassadors.

I, too, share the hope that the relations now established between our peoples may forever remain normal and friendly, and that our nations henceforth may cooperate for their mutual benefit and for the preservation of the peace of the world.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States of America,
The White House.



Maxim Litvinov (right) exchanged letter with Roosevelt, bringing to a close 16 years of Soviet efforts to gain recognition.

WHEN F.D.R. RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET UNION

pointed, Bullitt resigned and returned home to the U.S.

In March 1919, our State Department was surprised with a letter from New York, sent by a Russian engineer named Ludwig C.A.K. Martens, stating that he had been appointed Soviet envoy to the United States. He enclosed credentials signed by Chicherin.

Martens explained that Moscow was eager to develop commercial relations with the United States, and that sizable business orders would follow recognition. His communication was not accepted officially, and Martens subsequently left for Russia under deportation orders.

Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, on behalf of President Woodrow Wilson, explained to the Italian Ambassador in Washington, D.C.:

"The Bolsheviks, an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government and have continued to use them with savage oppression. Their responsible statesmen have declared that the very existence of Bolshevism depends upon revolution in all other great countries including the United States. There can be no confidence if pledges are to be given with cynical repudiation already in the mind of one of the parties. We

pressure from within America, under the leadership of Sen. William E. Borah of Idaho, became manifest.

Unflinching support of an anti-communist stand continued on the part of the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor and Roman Catholic Father Edmund Walsh, founder of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. The Moscow dictatorship gave President Hoover's stand against recognition an unintended assist shortly before the end of his term by flooding the world with Soviet-printed counterfeit American money.

In his "Memoirs," Hoover explained his stand in these simple words: "If one of our neighbors is wicked in all his relations with the community we do not necessarily attack him. We even minister to him in sickness. [Hoover had headed U.S. relief of Russia's famine in 1921.] But we do not establish his respectability in the community or offer him opportunities to extend wickedness by asking him into our home."

He feared that recognition would inevitably lead to dangerous infiltration into America by communist agents and agitators.

He also recalled that "more than 5,000,000 people had

RALLY FORCES
For Daily Worker Tag Days
Nov. 24, 25, 26th!

Daily Worker
Central Organ of the Communist Party U.S.A.

America's Only Working
Class Daily Newspaper

Vol. X, No. 277

Entered as second-class matter in the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1933

(Eight Pages)

Price 3 Cents

SOVIET UNION RECOGNIZED

U. S. WORKERS HAIL SOVIET RECOGNITION VICTORY

"USSR Recognition Great Victory" Says "Pravda" Editorial

"Recognition of the USSR by Roosevelt Administration is a Big Indication of Power and Importance of the Soviet Union"

"5-Year Plan Not Only Tremendous Economic Success, But Strengthened International Position of Soviet Union"

Recognition of the USSR and the American Toiling Masses
AN EDITORIAL

AFTER sixteen years of stubborn refusal to recognize the Soviet Union, American imperialism is now forced to reverse its traditional non-recognition policy and grant full diplomatic recognition to the victorious workers' and peasants of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

American capitalism, in the throes of the deepest crisis in its entire history, was moved at this juncture to extend recognition to the land of rising Socialism.

Every American worker will joyously hail this victory of the Workers' Fatherland.

No wonder now that the American capitalist press and all the bitterest enemies of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, are forced to resort to the most fantastic distortions to cover up this victory of the Soviet Union and its working masses.

Reversal of U.S. Non-Recognition Policy Is Victory for the Workers' Fatherland

Soviet Leaders



Is Proof of Growing Strength of Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and a Success of Its Peace Policy

Bullitt Appointed U. S. Ambassador as Full Diplomatic Relations Are Extended by President Roosevelt

By MARGUERITE YOUNG
(Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—The United States agreed to

Daily Worker saw recognition as victory for "Fatherland." Reds' agreement not to interfere in U.S. internal affairs was ignored.

cannot recognize a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions."

Chicherin welcomed the Republican Administration of Warren G. Harding in the United States in 1921. He figured that the business-minded Republican would easily be tempted by promises of huge Russian commercial orders. But Sec'y of State Hughes cited the instability of the communist economy and the insecurity of life and property in Russia as reasons why the American position remained unchanged.

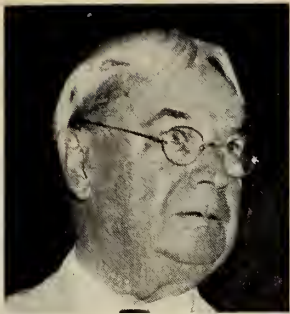
Harding was succeeded by Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, both Republicans, and Secretary of State Hughes by Frank B. Kellogg and Henry L. Stimson. Neither Administration recognized the USSR, although increasing

been cruelly butchered in Russia. Millions were in Siberian slave camps. Bloody terror and murder of innocent people were rampant."

Large sections of the American business community, however, thought otherwise. Brisk trade developed increasingly between the two countries. Some of our largest firms, notably General Motors Corp., General Electric Co., International Harvester Co. and Standard Oil Co. even granted commercial long-term credits to the young Soviet state.

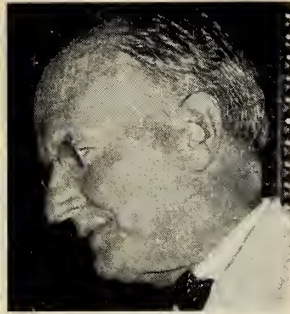
With the onset of the Great Depression, Senators Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Bronson Cutting of New Mexico warned that Russian business would go elsewhere if we did not assume a friendlier attitude toward the Soviet Union.

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Sen. Hiram W. Johnson

UPI



Sen. Burton K. Wheeler

UPI



Sen. William E. Borah

UPI



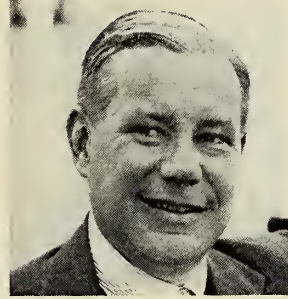
Sen. Key Pittman

UPI



Sen. Joseph T. Robinson

UPI



Sen. Bronson Cutting

Johnson, Wheeler and Cutting saw enormous business in Russian trade if we recognized. Robinson and Pittman saw a potential ally against Japan. Borah favored formal relations.

UPI



Our first Ambassador, William C. Bullitt, with Kalinin and Litvinov, Moscow, Dec. 1933.

They were supported by a considerable segment of the press.

Trade between the two countries continued to grow until early in 1932, when Russian purchases from the United States began to drop alarmingly. Opponents of Soviet recognition claimed the decline was due to Russia's inability to pay for foreign goods. Defenders argued that the Soviets had taken their business elsewhere because of the absence of diplomatic relations. Sen. Hiram W. Johnson of California stated, "There are

billions of dollars' worth of future orders in Russia for American workers to fill, and in these times it is simply idiocy for America, by its policies, to preclude Americans from trade and commerce which so readily could be obtained."

On the other hand Prof. Robert P. Browder [a member of the Department of History, Univ. of Colorado, and author of "The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy"], who has made this period of Russian-American relations his specialty, argues that the world-wide Great

Depression also hit the Soviet Union hard, so that the drop in orders for American products had necessarily to follow.

The worsening of Japanese-Soviet relations in the early thirties made the vigorous Litvinov, who succeeded the ailing Chicherin, all the more eager for amicable connections with the United States. Heartened by Secretary of State Stimson's denunciation of Japan's activity in Manchuria, he sought to convince American public opinion that Russia might prove a potential ally against Japan. That evoked favorable responses from Newton D. Baker, who had been Secretary of War under President Wilson; Senators Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas and Key Pittman of Nevada, and the editors of the New Republic and The Nation.

Litvinov also found a welcome ally in the Chinese Government, which late in 1932 resumed diplomatic relations with Russia. China's envoys in Geneva, Nanking and Washington were instructed to sound out their American counterparts and try to influence them in favor of the Soviet Union.

The combined Soviet, Chinese and intra-American campaigns for recognition acted like the proverbial steady drop that finally hollows a stone. Even Stimson finally weakened. He surprised Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in Tokyo by instructing him to "carry out all the social functions customary between a member of the [Diplomatic] Corps and its Dean." The dean of the foreign diplomats in Tokyo was none other than Soviet Ambassador A. Troyanovsky. Until then, on earlier instructions, Grew had ignored his Russian colleague because he represented a government which we had not recognized.

During all these goings on, New York's Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt was sitting on the side lines observing the debate.

Long before his nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Roosevelt prevailed upon his long-time friend, William C. Bullitt, who was still zealously in favor of formal relations with the USSR, to visit Russia as his personal emissary and fact finder.

Washington attaché William Bullitt, a former newspaper correspondent, assured Bolshevism's most trusted journalist, Karl Radek, that Governor Roosevelt would undoubtedly be the next American President and would quite probably establish normal and even friendly relations with the USSR. He praised the Soviet regime for the progress it was making at a time when other countries were having political and economic crises.

Just what Bullitt reported to Roosevelt
(Continued on next page)

WHEN F.D.R. RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET UNION

in Albany has not been released, but it can be safely assumed that Bullitt strengthened F.D.R.'s determination, if elected, to recognize Russia.

As candidate for the U.S. Presidency, however, Governor Roosevelt declined to commit himself publicly to any course except that of giving the matter impartial consideration. However, Mr. Roosevelt's tremendous victory in the 1932 presidential election was generally interpreted by people interested in foreign affairs as a prelude to Soviet recognition.

The Friends of the Soviet Union—working through local committees among trade unions and fraternal societies, the American Women's Committee for the Recognition of Russia, the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce (formerly anti-Soviet) and the United States Board of Trade—undertook drives to mobilize public opinion in favor of recognition.

The "anti" camp was by no means cowed. A special patriotic organization named "Paul Revere" was set up. A popular spring rally, held in Washington on April 18, 1933, to dramatize public opposition, was co-sponsored by the Amer-

WIDE WORLD



Sec'y of State Cordell Hull (right) believed recognition would bring Russia out of her isolation. He later had job of protesting when Russia did not live up to her agreements.

WIDE WORLD



Robert F. Kelley, State Dep't East Europe Affairs Chief, drafted a memo for President Roosevelt on all phases of Soviet recognition. He warned that all outstanding issues should be settled before recognition was granted, or they never would be. He listed Soviet dissociation from American communists; legal rights of Americans in Russia; debts; freedom of worship for Americans in Russia. Kelley's warnings, which came true, were based on French and English experiences with the Russians.



William Green, president of the A.F.L., was outspoken opponent of recognition of Soviet.

ican Legion, by the American Federation of Labor, by the Daughters of the American Revolution and by several fraternal organizations. The principal speakers were Louis A. Johnson, then National Commander of the American Legion, and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

To the dismay of the Soviet overlords, Roosevelt made no reference whatever to recognition in his inaugural address.

But soon after taking office he asked his intimate friend and associate, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., to make confidential inquiries into the possibilities of bring-

(Continued on page 50)



Some Advice on Rifle Sights

IF YOU'RE USING the sights with which your hunting rifle was equipped when you first removed it from its factory carton, it's no wonder you may not be shooting well, say the experts. The factory rear sight is the *open* type, so called because it has a V notch or U, open at the top. It's practically useless, except at point-blank ranges, because it requires your shooting-eye to do the impossible—to focus on the V, the front sight and the distant target, all at the same time. In addition, it blocks out the lower half of the target. Its elevation adjustment, by means of a serrated ramp, is crude, and to adjust it for windage, you must tap it with a hammer. Why does the manufacturer supply such a sight? It's the cheapest. And it's better than no sight at all.

For general shooting at ranges up to 100 yards, the experts advise you to replace it with a *peep* sight, also called a *receiver* sight because it attaches to the rifle's receiver. Since you look *through* its peephole, not *at* it, your eye needs to concentrate only on the front sight and the target. And it instinctively centers itself in the peephole, providing perfect alignment. Also, the field of vision is unobstructed. For maximum visibility when hunting, unscrew the eyepiece containing the peephole and sight through the larger hole from which it was removed; accuracy will not be affected appreciably. This sight also has precise adjustments for elevation and windage.

An elaborate magnifying telescopic sight enables you to see better, but not always to shoot better because its *field*, or area of vision, decreases as its magnification increases. In general, therefore, its use is recommended for long-range shots at stationary targets. It is unreliable for moving targets because of the difficulty in finding the target in its small field. For stationary targets at ranges less than 100 yards, choose one no stronger than 2X (two-power or twice-magnification). Should you sight an 8X 'scope (four times as strong) at a deer at 35 yards, you'd see only a patch of brown hide in its greatly reduced field. An important aspect of a 'scope sight, frequently ignored, is its mounting on the rifle. Use the strongest mounts obtainable to resist recoil and accidental jarring so the sight will retain its alignment, and accuracy.

Sights are not as important to a shotgun because this firearm is *pointed* rather than sighted, but when used for shooting rifled slugs instead of scattershot, it should be equipped with a rifle-type front sight and receiver sight. On a hand gun, an open sight is commonly used because a receiver sight must be held close to the eye, which is obviously impossible when a hand gun is held at arm's length. Telescopic sights for hand guns are available in low magnifications, but make the small firearm too bulky.

MOST OFTEN BROKEN in any firearm action is the firing pin, and the usual cause is dry firing (firing with no cartridge in the chamber). To check your firearm's firing pin indoors before you take it hunting, advises M. Bartolini of Fort Bragg, Cal., place a drop of candle wax on the primer of an *empty fired* cartridge, place the cartridge in the chamber, fire the gun, then examine the wax. If there's a dent in it, the pin is okay.

ENJOY CLEANING FISH with a new tool called Mr. Speed-O. The specially designed gloves help you hold the fish steady, prevent fin sticks, and also serve as a finish cleaner after the fish is scaled. The hollow ground



Mr. Speed-O makes fish handling easy.

steel scaler is lightweight and easy to handle. Maker claims average time for completely scaling and cleaning a 2 lb. fish is approximately one minute. Price: \$2.98 from R & S Sales Co., P. O. Box 22392, Memphis, Tenn., 38122.

FISH OFTEN LURK ALONG A SHORE-LINE waiting for insects, frogs, mice, etc., to drop into the water. When fishing such an area, writes K. Dobson of Athens, Ga., present your lure the same way. Use weedless hooks, cast the lure on to the shore or a bush, and hop it off into the water. It will fool even the wise old lunkers.

TO MAKE YOUR SQUIRREL HUNTING EASIER THIS FALL, take your dog along—any breed. He needs no training except to come when called. Keep him on a leash and when your squirrel scrambles to the opposite side of the tree to hide from you, unleash the pup and toss a stick beyond the tree for him to chase. When the squirrel sees the dog, it will swing back to your side of the tree to hide from him and you'll have an easy shot.

MANY IMPOSSIBLE LURES will catch bass. One enterprising angler, on a bet, fooled a lunker with a beer-can opener.

But Martin Roelsgard of Onawa, Iowa, suggests one that tops them all—a strip of black licorice rigged on a nightcrawler harness. In back of a spinner, it acts like a small eel. It's tougher than a worm, and lasts longer. He says that walleyes go for it, too.

WHEN YOU'RE GOING CAMPING, the easiest thing to forget and the hardest thing to find even when you do remember to bring it, is an extra mantle for your gasoline lantern. The solution, advises Chuck Nixon of Saratoga, Cal., is to tape a small envelope containing a couple of new mantles to the underside of your lantern's base. Then all you have to remember is to replace those after they've been used.

YOU CAN'T BAG A DEER on fishline, but it will help. The next time you and your companions are on deer stands, run the fishline from stand to stand. Then when one of you spots a deer running toward his neighbor's stand, he can alert that hunter with a tug on the line. It's better than shouting a warning which might spook every deer within hearing.

WHEN BIRD SHOOTING in dark or rainy woods, it's difficult to see the front sight of your shotgun, or even its muzzle, and most of your shots must be instinctive. But to help your instinctive shooting, advises Bruce Armstrong of Arnold, Pennsylvania, wrap a strip of white adhesive tape around the gun's muzzle. It will stand out surprisingly against the dark background and help you cover your bird.

TENT ROPES AND STAKES CAN BE HAZARDOUS. At night, even a flashlight is no guarantee you'll notice them and avoid tripping over one of them. But if you have some old foil Christmas-tree "icicles" stashed away from last December, your problem is solved. Just drape a handful midway along the ropes and across the stakes. You can't miss their glitter in daylight or in a flashlight beam, or even in bright moonlight. And what do you care what the other campers think!

NEW LAZY IKE LURE is reported by anglers to be snagging big fish when all other lures have failed. It's the *Chug Ike*, a different kind of surface plug that chugs, pops and darts during a jerking retrieve. It comes in spinning and bait-casting sizes and in six different color patterns. Price: \$1.25.

LIGHTWEIGHT WRAP-AROUND SINKERS to add extra weight to light lures and baits so they can be cast with spinning tackle, are no farther away than your toothpaste tube, claims Robert Rezac of Owatonna, Minn. Cut the empty tube into small strips with a scissors. They bend easily. Wrap one or more around the lure itself or around the line ahead of the lure.

If you have a helpful idea for this feature send it in. If we can use it we'll pay you \$5.00. However, we cannot acknowledge, return, or enter into correspondence concerning contributions. Address: Outdoor Editor, The American Legion Magazine, 720 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10019.

The Girl Scouts Take



For two hours every day Girl Scout patrols demonstrated the arts, industry or history of their home locales, which they'd planned since

FOR TWO WEEKS in mid-July this year, the Navy's old WW2 boot camp at Farragut, Idaho, was taken over by the fourth Senior Roundup of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. Some 9,000 girls, aged 15, 16 and 17, and about 3,000 adult Girl Scout leaders camped out on the heights above Lake Pend Oreille in the Bitterroot Mountains. There they showed thousands of visitors every day a refreshing view of the achievements, abilities, character, self-sufficiency and dedication to constructive Americanism of young people who don't often make the headlines. The old Navy barracks are long gone from Farragut, and what remains are two water towers, the brig (used for temporary Girl Scout Administration offices) and the Navy's old cyclone fence. The girls brought their own tents, set them up, lived and cooked-out in them and struck them at the Roundup's end. They played host to visiting girls from 41 other nations. Every day, patrol after patrol set up original demonstrations of

some aspect of American life or history of their own part of the country. Between times they met in serious forums and in mass outdoor events and pageants. Each patrol camped with patrols from other parts of the country, and when it came time for parting there were not a few tears shed for leaving new-found friends and an experience whose memory would last a lifetime. For security, the Idaho State Police were reinforced with a provisional support group from the 6th Army, with MPs, WACs, Engineers and the 94th Evacuation Hospital, as well as a Coast Guard Patrol of the southern shores of Lake Pend Oreille. The Girl Scouts reported that at their previous Roundup in 1962, The American Legion and The American Legion Auxiliary had assisted more girls to get to the Roundup than any other organization. The tally was not in yet for the 1965 Roundup on this score. Thanks to adult Girl Scout Leaders from all over the country, the management of a temporary city of 12,000 went off smoothly.



On the edge of Lake Pend Oreille, a Girl Scout patrol sees Red Cross demonstrate management of a submerged canoe.

Over Farragut



January. In foreground, a quilting demonstration.

A section of the vast tent city.



The Legion's Nat'l Commander was represented at the Roundup by Leslie McCarthy, Past Dep't Cmdr of Idaho, shown here with his children (Boy Scout Michael and Campfire Girl Kathleen); Mrs. McCarthy, Immediate Past President of the Idaho Legion Auxiliary; and Girl Scout leaders Betty Boardman (D.C.) and Ruth Hardy (N.J.).



A ceremony at the Avenue of Flags, representing all the states of the U.S. and the free nations of the world. State and U.S. flags were the gift of The American Legion Auxiliary in 1962.

THE END

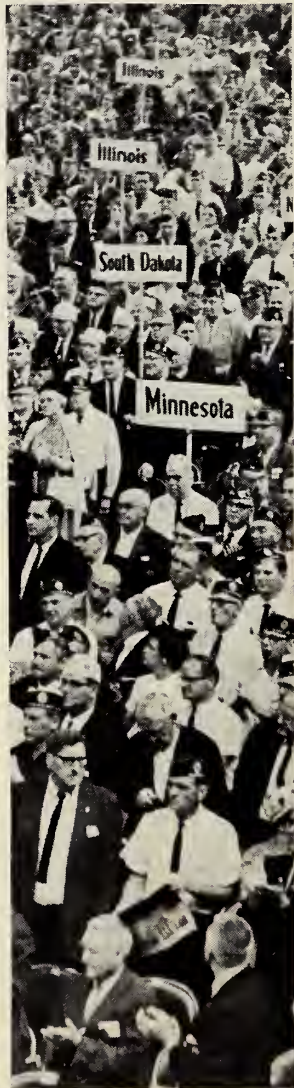
A REPORT FROM PORTLAND, OREGON



Oregon's Gov. Mark O. Hatfield officially welcomes Legion's 47th Nat'l Convention.



Nat'l Muscular Dystrophy Poster Child Paul Hawkins of Montana, salutes the delegates.



Delegates conducted Legion business for three days on convention floor.



Colorful marchers entertained some 75,000 spectators over the 1 1/4-mile parade route.



L. A. Police Chief W. H. Parker (right) at social affair with Gen. Frank Schwengel.

..... 16 pages of stories and photographs of The American Legion's 47th National Convention... August 20-26, 1965

THE AMERICAN LEGION held its 47th National Convention in Portland, Ore., Aug. 20 to 26, 1965. It heard a host of distinguished speakers; adopted 141 resolutions; elected L. Eldon James, Hampton, Va., attorney, as National Commander for 1965-66 (p. 38); put on its annual parade (p. 32) and its music-and-marching contests (p. 34) before enormous crowds; postponed admitting "cold war" veterans to Legion membership for a year because of technical problems (p. 31); and heard reports on and adopted resolutions concerning three especially acute problems: (a) The Vietnam struggle; (b) the growing disrespect for law and order in the United States, and (c) the cutting back of veterans facilities in Washington at a time when more and more young Americans are being called to arms. With respect to these, it (a) endorsed U.S. policy in Vietnam and called on all Americans to assist the national effort with their support; (b) passed numerous resolutions seeking to increase public respect for orderly processes of law and to strengthen the hand of law enforcement officers, and (c) called for a halt to the closing of veterans facilities and a curbing of the powers of the Budget Bureau to effect such closings without Congressional approval. Between serious business sessions on these and many other matters (see full digest of resolutions pp. 41-42-43), the conventioners enjoyed the hospitality and beauty of Portland and its countryside (p. 40) in a convention that was virtually a "love fest" between the host city and its guests. Portland provided partly cloudy, cool weather, with neither heat nor rain—a bargain for August anywhere. A total of 11,000 Legionnaires registered, including 2,917 accredited delegates. These on top of family members and the American Legion Auxiliary delegates, who held their convention concurrently, made it an estimated 20,000 visitors for the week. So lavish were they in their praise of the hospitality of Portland and all of its people with whom they came in contact that Portland papers were able to quote them by the column. Meanwhile Portland's own reaction could be partly measured by a turnout that packed Multnomah Stadium for the Legion's music-and-marching contest pageantry, and by a locally-estimated 75,000 to 100,000 who thronged the parade route. Then,

at the convention's close, the "honeymoon" was wrapped up in a story in The Oregon Journal by business editor W. J. Cary. He quoted local business leaders as saying, "I wish they'd stay another week . . . send more of them . . . hope they come back soon," and a hotel manager: "We never had a nicer bunch of people." Night spots didn't do too well, Cary noted, but businesses catering to the family trade, downtown shops, quality restaurants, hotels, motels and bars, and cab companies prospered—and on a specimen convention day Portland bank clearances were up \$11.3 million over the same day a year earlier.

Major speakers at various convention sessions included Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Gen. Maxwell Taylor (just back from serving as U.S. Ambassador in South Vietnam); Sen. Thomas Dodd of Connecticut; George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO; Adm. David L. McDonald, Chief of Naval Operations; former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina; Herbert Clark Hoover, Jr.; Richard Batchelder, president of the National Education Association; Gen. Bruce Clark, armored commander at St. Vith in the Battle of the Bulge, who represented the Boy Scouts of America; Gen. James F. Collins, representing the American National Red Cross; Harry M. Kirby, representing the March of Dimes; Sen. George Murphy, of California (p. 37); radio-TV executive and former movie star Gene Autry (p. 36); Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker (p. 37); ABC news commentator Paul Harvey (p. 36); Cowles Publications Washington staffer Clark Mollenhoff (p. 36); Cyril Brickfield, Deputy Administrator of the Veterans Administration, and John M. Gleason, director, Boys Clubs of America.

Secretary of State Rusk expressed the thanks of himself and President Johnson for the Legion's studied support of U.S. policy in Vietnam and its public information work during the year based on on-the-spot visits of outgoing National Commander Donald E. Johnson and other top Legion officials to the Vietnam battle zones. He warned that if we fail in Vietnam "dangers now undreamed of would come." We are engaged in the "unfinished business of peace," he said, and only when we stop aggressions which



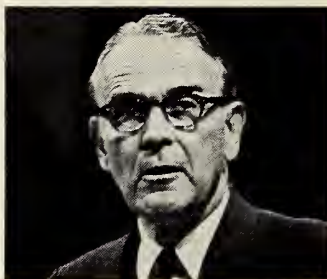
After warning of new "Vietnams" in Latin America, Sen. Thomas J. Dodd joins the Legion delegates from his home state, Connecticut.



Herbert Clark Hoover, Jr., accepts Legion's top award for his late father, from Nat'l Cmdr Donald E. Johnson.

the communists call "wars of national liberation" can "men live as men, not as slaves and victims." He noted that we are absolutely committed to our present policy in Vietnam, a commitment made under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, and that "the integrity of the commitment of the U.S. is the principal support of peace throughout the world." Gen. Taylor went into the Vietnam situation in more detail. Summing up, he said that the present situation is "up and down, ebb and flow," but with 2.4 billion U.S. aid, and the impact of our increasing direct military intervention just being felt by the communists, the only further weapon we need is to be "resolute," a direct slap at those at

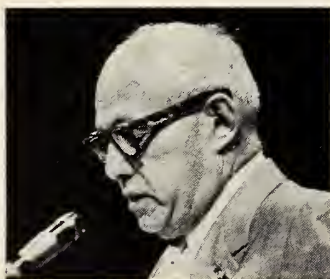
ship." Nothing he could say in accepting the medal for his father would be more apt in 1965, he noted. Gov. Byrnes, a driving spirit in founding both the League of Nations and the United Nations, and the man who ratified the



Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor.

permitted inflation to continue too long. Admiral McDonald outlined U.S. military operations around the world to the convention, and said that our servicemen overseas are often perplexed by a lack of homefront understanding, apparent interest in, and support of their missions.

Senator Dodd turned the spotlight on Latin America, and warned the convention that Castro-organized plots could give us a host of "Vietnams" all at once in this hemisphere. A man who does his homework, Sen. Dodd gave specific information on red revolutionary activities in a host of Latin nations, not excepting inflammatory broadcasts from Cuba to incite extremists in the United States. He closed by saying that the U.S. should

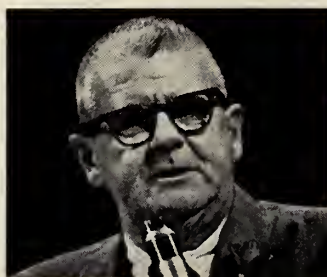


AFL-CIO chief George Meany.

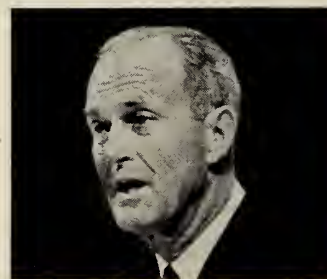
home who are undermining our enormous efforts in Vietnam with organized public expressions of defeatism.

American Legion Distinguished Service Medals went to James F. Byrnes (p. 36) and (posthumously) to former President Herbert Hoover, accepted by his son, Herbert Clark Hoover, Jr. Hoover quoted a speech made by his father to the Legion in Boston 35 years ago, noting that the "underlying foundation of our government is respect for law," and quoting the Legion Preamble as "a real preface to American citizen-

UN charter as U.S. Secretary of State, told the convention that UN helplessness to act against communist aggression in Vietnam now raises the question of whether the UN "is able to contribute to world peace or whether it will go the way of the League of Nations." He also urged that Congress draft a "war economy plan" for the United States immediately, so that if needed it could be put into effect before inflation and war profiteering should run wild. As head of economic mobilization in WW2 he observed that lack of a ready-made plan



The Boys Clubs' John Gleason.



Adm. David McDonald, CNO.

"export the American Revolution to Latin America" because it is the only true revolution for the people of the world.

The American Legion Auxiliary held its 45th Nat'l Convention in Portland's Benson H.S. Auditorium. It named Mrs. Walter H. Glynn, of Des Moines, Iowa, Nat'l President (see p. 41).

When the convention closed, approximately 500 of the conventioners embarked on a post-convention tour to Hawaii and many more stayed in the Northwest a while to see more of it.



The scene as Secretary of State Dean Rusk spelled out Vietnam policy. Inset, Rusk close-up

REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN LEGION YOUTH PROGRAMS



Kay, Oratorical McCoy, Boys' Nation Morris, Sons of Legion Wilcox, Boy Scouts Payne, Baseball

FIVE REPRESENTATIVES of American Legion youth programs got warm welcomes as they addressed the convention. Representing national Legion Youth training and citizenship programs were: **James F. Kay**, 17, of Fullerton, Calif., 1965 winner of the Legion's National High School Oratorical Contest and its \$4,000 college scholarship; **Ronald T. McCoy**, 17, of Nogales, Ariz., President of the 1965 American Legion Boys' Nation; **Thomas A. Morris**, 17, of Louisville, Ky., representing the Sons of The American Legion; **Tomas G. Wilcox**, 16, of Glen Ellyn, Ill., an Eagle Scout from an American Legion sponsored troop, representing the Legion's supporting role in the Boy Scouts of America; and **Herbert E. Payne**, 18, of Gold Beach, Ore., for the Legion's Baseball program. The Legion's Baseball

Player of the Year, selected at The American Legion World Series, usually appears, but the Series, set for Aug. 26-Sept. 1, at Aberdeen, S.D., postponed the convention, causing the selection of Payne to represent the program. For a report on the Legion World Series, see



Bob Feller

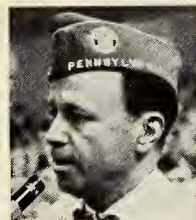
page 44. **Bob Feller**, former Cleveland Indians pitching ace, who played Legion ball as a boy, accompanied the youths in all their convention appearances.

THE ADMISSION OF "COLD WAR" VETS TO LEGION MEMBERSHIP.

THE IDEA OF admitting "cold war" veterans to The American Legion—either Vietnam veterans or Vietnam vets along with "cold war" vets of earlier date—apparently had enough support at Portland to command the necessary two-thirds vote to amend the Legion's Constitution. No less than 31 resolutions were submitted to admit servicemen of recent vintage. But, alas, the proponents of the



Foley
Minnesota



Alessandrini
Pennsylvania



Haller
Nebraska



Strong
Missouri

idea hadn't done their homework. Not one of the 31 resolutions was cast in the form of a proposed amendment to the Legion's Constitution. Since Article XVI requires that a proposed amendment be circulated at least 20 days prior to the convention—and none was—no action was possible. To prevent a repetition of such a technical morass, the convention adopted Res. 571, which ordered the appointment of a special committee to prepare a specific proposed amendment to admit "cold war" veterans and to circulate it by next March, for consideration at the 1966 Nat'l Convention. Shown here are four of numerous delegates who favored admitting "cold war" vets, but conceded they'd have to wait a year. None spoke against accepting "cold war" vets.

(More Convention news next page)



THE PARADE

THE LEGION's 47th Nat'l Convention Parade entertained thousands of spectators along its 1¼-mile route from 10 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. on Monday Aug. 23. The marchers passed through the Portland Memorial Coliseum, crossed the Willamette River, and went south on Broadway to the reviewing stand at the Hilton Hotel where Nat'l Cmdr Donald E. Johnson took each unit's salute. For the first time in three years it did not rain on the Legion's parade. Temperatures ranged from 70 to 75 degrees over the 4½ hours the parade lasted and military jets had only a few wispy clouds above them as they flashed over the parade route. Past Nat'l Cmdr Daniel F. Foley was Honorary Grand Marshal and led 10,000 marchers. Following him for the first hour was some of the armed might of the U.S. Armed Forces. The foreign and outlying departments of the Legion were next. Then came the regular Legion departments, led by South Carolina with its top membership record, followed by Legionnaires, floats, musical units, costumed marchers, unusual and antique vehicles, and lastly, host department. Oregon. (*Convention news cont'd*)

Convention reporting and photos by R. B. Pitkin, Al Marshall, John Andreola, Roy Miller, James Swartz.



Compressed view of the Legion's 1965 Nat'l Convention Parade and the Portland



The City of Hampton, Va., home of new Nat'l Commander Eldon James, entered this float.



East Oregon Indians presented by George St. Dennis Legion Post of Mission, Oregon.





thongs who watched it. Marchers in foreground are just passing the reviewing stand, out of photo on right.



Spectators, estimated at 75,000, liked the parade, if these are a fair sample.



Drum majorette of the Junior Band of Los Angeles Police Post.



Chinese-American scouts sponsored by Seattle's Cathay Post 186.





Senior Color Guard of Chicago's Post 118.



Lake Band of Milwaukee, Junior Champs.



Quartet—Sioux Falls Post 15, S.D.



Post 5, Joliet, Ill., Senior Band Champs.



Chorus—Sioux Falls' Singing Legionnaires.



Huge throng watched contests.

MUSIC & MARCHING CHAMPIONS—1965

UPSETS, THE RETURN of titles to former champs, and spectacular fireworks marked the pageantry events at Portland's Multnomah Stadium during The American Legion's Parade of Champions, Sunday night, Aug. 22, before a crowd of over 15,000. The most surprising upset

saw the Grey Knight Post Crusaders, Post 952, Rochester, N.Y., take the **Senior Drum & Bugle Corps** title from the Caballeros of Post 199, Hawthorne, N.J., by a margin of only .08 point. In the **Junior Drum & Bugle** division, the Royal-Airs, Post 96, Cicero, Ill., only a few hours off the bus after a 72-hour trip, dethroned



Parade of Champions at Portland's Multnomah Stadium. At center, the new Sr. Drum & Bugle Corps Champs, the Grey Knight Post Crusaders,



The Royal-Airs, Post 96, Cicero, Ill., Nat'l Junior Drum & Bugle Champs.



Jr. Color Guard—Hawthorne, N.J.



Firing Squad—Little Bills, Chicago, Ill.

the Garfield Cadets, Post 255, Garfield, N.J., to mark the first time since 1947 that the junior title went to other than a New Jersey group. The Little Bills, Commonwealth Edison Post 118, Chicago, Ill., rewon the **Senior Color Guard** and **Firing Squad** championships. The **Junior Color Guard** title went to the Muchachos of Post

199, Hawthorne, N.J. Once again Harwood Post Memorial Band, Post 5, Joliet, Ill., won the **Senior Band** contest. The Lake Band, Post 180, Milwaukee, Wis., took over the **Junior Band** title. Post 15, Sioux Falls, S.D., took both the **Chorus** and **Quartet** titles with its Singing Legionnaires and Sioux Falls Male Quartet.



Rochester, N.Y. (swords). Left of them, Lake Band, Milwaukee, Wis., Jr. Band Champs.

OTHER MEETINGS

THE LEGION has within it numerous sub-groups, independently organized for business or purely social reasons, many of which regularly hold their annual meetings at the Legion's big national convention. Among those meeting at Portland were:

The American Legion Press Association, which elected Roy P. Whitton, Ind., as president and renamed Jack R. C. Cann as secretary-treasurer for the 24th consecutive year. The association consists largely of editors of Legion state and post publications and public relations workers.

The National Association of Department Historians of The American Legion, which named Hugh P. Haugherty, Okla., as president and Carl Harrison, La., secretary-treasurer.

The Society of American Legion Founders, which named Paul R. Baldwin, Mich., president; Orville Taylor, Ill., president-elect, and renamed Joseph



ANAVICUS luncheon

A. Bernard, Mo., secretary-treasurer.

ANAVICUS, an honorary international society of Canadian and American veterans, inducted eight new American members, all with long service in the Legion—including outgoing Nat'l Commander Donald E. Johnson, of Iowa. ("ANAVICUS" unrolls into Army, Navy and Air Force Veterans in Canada and the U.S.). Selective Service pressures in Washington kept U.S. draft director Gen. Louis B. Hershey from emceeding the ANAVICUS meetings as he usually does.

Other special groups meeting included *FODPAL*, an association of foreign and outlying departments and posts of The American Legion; *The 20&4*, a social organization of women Legionnaires; the *World War Nurses* association; the *Eight & Forty*, a special society of American Legion Auxiliary members; and an informal group of members and sponsors of Squadrons of the *Sons of The American Legion*.

(More Convention news next page)

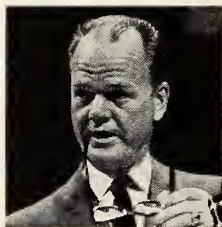
AWARDS

THE AMERICAN LEGION awarded two of its Distinguished Service Medals at the Portland Convention. One went posthumously to former President Herbert Hoover, accepted by his son Herbert Clark Hoover, Jr. (photo p. 30). The other went to former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina, who received it in person (right). The Legion awarded three "Fourth Estate" awards for excellence in American reporting. One went to Golden West Broadcasters for its "Heritage" broadcasts, and was accepted by board chairman Gene Autry, western film favorite



James F. Byrnes gets Legion DSM.

of an earlier day, and Loyd Sigmon, exec. vp. of Golden West. Another was awarded to Clark Mollenhoff, Washington correspondent of Cowles Publications, cited as a "courageous . . . no-nonsense digger for facts." The third was given to ABC commentator Paul Harvey for reportage "in the American tradition." The Nat'l Commander's Public Relations Award for 1965 went to the Pennsylvania American Legion, accepted by Immediate Past Commander Monroe Bethman. The Hearst Americanism Trophy was given to the New York American Legion. Past N.Y. Commander Dr. Michael J. Crino, accepted it from David E. Sentner, representing the Hearst news services. A special plaque went to Col. Roscoe Turner of Indiana, U.S. aviation pioneer, in appreciation of his long services to the Legion. Outgoing Nat'l Commander Don Johnson received numerous gifts, including silverware and a home flagpole, from the Department Commanders who served with him this year.



Harvey



Mollenhoff



Gene Autry and Mrs. Autry.



Pennsylvania Commander Bethman and Adj. Edward Hoak accept Nat'l Commander's Public Relations Award.

SEAGRAM POSTS GIVE AWAY FORDS



Nat'l Adjutant E. A. Blackmore draws first of four winning numbers for Fords donated by Seagram Posts.

FROM THE Seagram's float shown above were drawn the coupons sent in by Legionnaires and Auxiliaries to the 19th Annual Drawing for the four Ford convertibles donated by Seagram Posts 807 Chicago, 1283 New York, and 658

Los Angeles. Winners were: Stella Lelonek, Post 799, Buffalo, N.Y.; Maynard Bjerk, Post 14, Bemidji, Minn.; Robert C. Hahn, Post 29, Miami, Fla.; and Joseph Kalina, Post 20, Fremont, Neb. Winners' posts each got \$250 prizes.

SPECIAL EVENTS



Commander Valerio Del Nero, Italian Navy, briefs Legion groups on NATO strategy.

AN EXCELLENT briefing on NATO was given by officers of nine NATO countries at a special joint meeting of the Legion's Commissions on National Security, Foreign Relations and Americanism. Speaking excellent English, and taking turns in advancing a clear outline of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's reason for being, problems, strategy and tactics, were officers of U.S., Canadian, French, British, Norwegian, Netherlands, Portuguese, Danish and Italian armed forces.

THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER

FRESH FROM destructive riots in his home city, Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker appeared at a pre-convention meeting of the Legion's National Security Commission, where he gave a detailed report on the growing breakdown of respect for law and order in the United States, as well as abroad. Parker quoted numerous noted attorneys, judges and legislators outlining the growth of crime and disrespect for law; citing overprotection of the criminal by the courts, hamstringing of enforcement officers, and the encouragement of illegal acts by people in positions of leadership under the slogans of "civil disobedience," and "non-violence." Parker noted that our form of government depends upon basic respect for law, and that the permanency of our "government under a rule of law" is now in question, less than 200 years after the adoption of our Constitution. He suggested that the American Legion increase its active role as a champion of law and order.

THE NATIONAL COMMANDER'S DINNER TO DISTINGUISHED GUESTS



Sen. George Murphy

TOP SOCIAL EVENT of the 47th Annual Legion Convention was the National Commander's Dinner to Distinguished Guests held in the Grand Ballroom of Portland's Hilton Hotel, Tues., Aug. 24. Featured speaker was the Honorable George Murphy, U.S. Senator from California, newly elected in Nov. 1964. The Senator, a former Hollywood film star, is a member of the Committee on Labor and Welfare and the Committee on Public Works in the Senate. The throng of over 1,200 included Legion dignitaries from the U.S. and foreign departments of The American Le-

gion; representatives of the government and military; and a long list of distinguished guests who had also appeared or spoken at some time during the convention sessions. The banquet-goers heard Sen. Murphy, long an outspoken advocate of Americanism, plead for the preservation of our nation from both external and internal forces. He urged resoluteness against outside attacks and a return to national law and order. Entertainment was provided by Jack Warner, President of Warner Brothers Studios, and a longtime American Legionnaire. (Continued on next page)

THE LEGION'S NATIONAL CONVENTION — CONTINUED

IN ITS LAST ORDER of business the Portland Convention elected national officers for 1965-66. L. Eldon James, 52, WW2 Navy vet and an attorney of Hampton, Va., was unanimously named National Commander. James is a Past Commander of the Virginia American Legion, a member of Hampton Roads Post 31. He has served on many national and local committees of the Legion and for eight years has been Virginia's member of the Legion's National Executive Committee. A member of the law firm of James, Richardson and James, he was placed in nomination by his uncle and law partner, Ralph James, a Past Commander of the Virginia American Legion, who first signed his nephew up in Hampton Roads Post in 1946. No other candidate was nominated.

Rev. Alfred C. Thompson, Methodist clergyman of Brooklyn, N.Y., was named National Chaplain, while the following five National Vice-Commanders were voted in in a landslide: Dr. A. R.



Ralph James nominated his nephew, Eldon James, for Nat'l Commander.

Choppin, a member of the Louisiana State University faculty, Baton Rouge, La.; William J. Rogers, Auburn, Me., businessman; William E. Galbraith, Beemer, Nebr., farmer and cattleman; Soleng Tom, Tucson, Ariz., businessman and civic leader; and Robert O. Phillips, Manila, P.I., business executive.

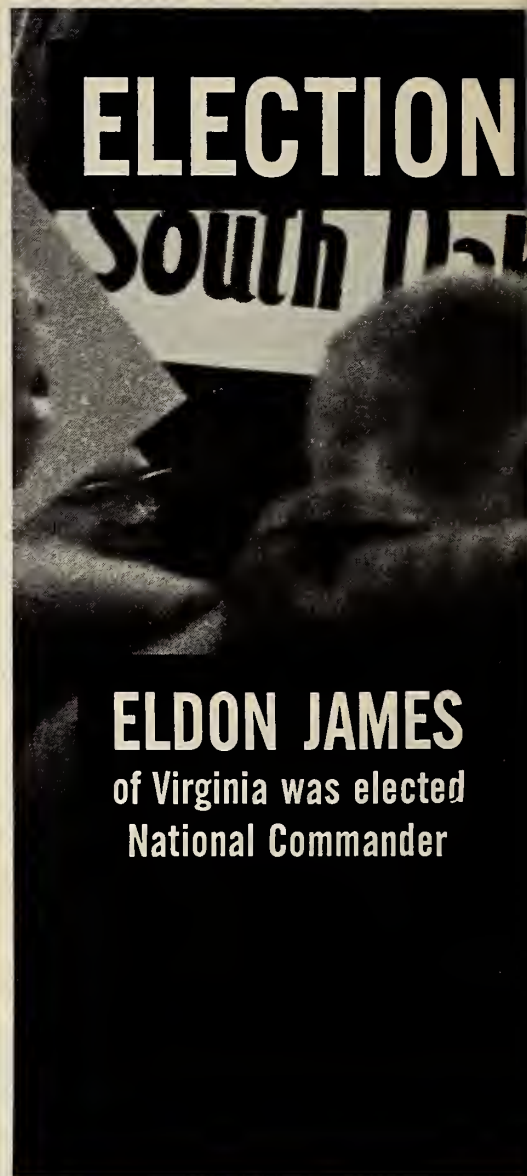
NATIONAL ELECTIVE OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, 1965-1966



Phillips (v.c.) Choppin (v.c.) Tom (v.c.) Rev. Thompson (chaplain)
Rogers (v.c.) James (cdr.) Galbraith (v.c.)



Outgoing Nat'l Cmdr Don Johnson (Iowa) gets his Past Nat'l Commander's plaque from Past Cmdr James E. Powers (Ga.), who also gave him his colors (see p. 43).



ELDON JAMES
of Virginia was elected
National Commander



Nomination of Eldon James sets off

OF OFFICERS



Delegates acclaim Eldon James (center) as Nat'l Commander immediately following his election. With him his wife, Aurelia, and children.



demonstration by his supporters on the floor of the Memorial Coliseum.



Members of the family of National Commander L. Eldon James. Front row: sister-in-law Mrs. Joseph Noyes James; the Nat'l Commander's wife, Mrs. L. Eldon James (formerly Aurelia Quinby Mitchell of Morristown, N.J.); son Eldon (Donnie) James; daughter Sally James; daughter Mrs. John (Nancy) Buhl; daughter Mrs. Charles (Quinby) Amory. Standing: brother Joseph Noyes James; son-in-law John Buhl; uncle Ralph James, and son-in-law Charles Amory.

(More Convention news next page)

OFF HOURS

LEGIONNAIRES had more to do and see than time allowed in Oregon. Trips up the Columbia to the Bonneville Dam, and down the river fishing for salmon at the Columbia's mouth, tours up the slopes of Mt. Hood, visits to Portland's beautiful parks and shrines were taken



Visiting Legionnaires at Mt. Hood's Timberline Lodge, 63 miles from downtown Portland.

advantage of by many, while Portland had more interesting quality restaurants, many with unique atmospheres, than Legion gourmets could take in in a week. Meanwhile there were many hosts for large parties and dinners including the Louisiana Party, the Puerto Rico Party, the Schenley Party, the Legion Auxiliary's annual States Dinner, etc. No less than eight of America's top brewers jointly hosted an open house social in the Hilton. They included such nationally known firms as Miller, Anheuser-Busch, Pabst and Schlitz.



A party hosted by Gen. Frank Schwengel and Edward McGinnis in the Pavilion Room and on the Terrace of the Portland Hilton Hotel on Broadway.



Two Minnesota Legionnaires went salmon fishing off Oregon coast. Ed Erickson (hat) caught one. Friend Larry Carlson helps him hold it.



Dancing at the Louisiana Party held in Portland Police Athletic League rooms.



A view of the reception and party hosted in the Benson Hotel by Schenley Industries.



The convention Memorial Service, Sunday, Aug. 22, conducted in the Portland Hilton Hotel ballroom by outgoing Nat'l Chaplain Rev. Fr. Morris N. Dummett.



AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY OFFICERS FOR 1965-66

ELECTED PRESIDENT of The American Legion Auxiliary was Mrs. Walter H. Glynn (center), Des Moines, Ia. Officers shown here are: (l. to rt.) Mrs. Henry G. Hayden, Sedgwick, Kans., Central Div. vp; Mrs. Charles J. Lee, Madisonville, Tenn., Southern Div. vp; Mrs. Merrill K. Smith, Elmore, Minn., Northwestern Div. vp; Mrs. Glynn; Mrs. Ray S. Wilson, Philadelphia, Pa., Eastern Div. vp; Mrs. August W. Flory, Merced, Calif., Western Div. vp; Mrs. A. P. Genta, Alamogordo, N.M., Nat'l Chaplain; and Mrs. Walter L. Waite, Portland, Ore., Nat'l Historian.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

THE PORTLAND Convention dealt with 594 resolutions (down 50 from last year). A total of 141 resolutions were **adopted** (down 34 from last year). They dealt with matters contained in 381 of the proposed resolutions, many of which, being similar, were consolidated. **Rejected** were 137 resolutions, while 86 more were **referred** to standing commissions for further study. To put the mass of resolutions in order for the delegates, with expert recommendations on them, 747 Legionnaires worked ahead of time in ten convention committees. In the end, one resolution was amended after floor debate (see "Brief Tempest" p. 43), another was amended after an undebated suggestion from the floor, and one committee recommendation for rejection was reversed (Res. 126, under "Rehabilitation," p. 43.) The convention was in business session three days in Portland's Memorial Coliseum (Aug. 24-25-26) to handle official business. In a separate action the National Executive Committee adopted a report of a special committee on American Legion Life Insurance, headed by William Todd,

Tenn., to liberalize the insurance (extending the age limit to 75) and amplifying provisions for handling the insurance trust fund. (Further details will be re-



Sutton, Nebr., Auxiliary Trio champs.

ported here when this authorization is translated into official action.)

Here is a brief digest of the essential sense of every resolution adopted by the National Convention:



Rehabilitation Committee meets to recommend action on 129 resolutions.

AMERICANISM

11. Commends the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover.
29. Approves flying of pennant inscribed "One Nation Under God" beneath our flag.
38. Condemns the W.E.B. DuBois clubs as opposing best interests of the U.S.
60. Condemns attempts to change by riots and lawless demonstrations our national, domestic and foreign policies.
64. Urges preparations for celebration of the 200th anniversary of signing of Declaration of Independence in 1976.
65. Urges that all school children recite the Pledge of Allegiance and salute flag each day.
74. Supports certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act and asks for a review of all factors bearing on U.S. immigration and nationality.
109. Requests review of communism in motion picture industry by appropriate legislative bodies.
112. Urges nation's press to promote "Fly Your Flag" theme on Flag Day.
129. Opposes unlawful assemblies and attempts to gain objectives by riot, violent demonstrations, etc., and affirms that those who govern us in cities and agencies be held accountable to authority derived from the people.
146. Opposes Federal registration or control of firearms; and recommends that those desiring to purchase a concealable firearm obtain permit from local law enforcement officer.
149. Opposes police review boards.
150. Seeks change in War Orphan education benefits.
188. Urges recognition by students of possible dangers connected with association with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committees.
189. Commends FBI for Civil Rights investigations.
199. Condemns "Teach-Ins" and "Free Speech Movements" and urges school administrators to take appropriate action with teachers and students.
217. Opposes deletion of words, "Under God" from Pledge of Allegiance and "In God We Trust" from currency, and authorizes Legion's Nat'l Judge Advocate to intervene as a friend of the court where it will help accomplish these objectives.
221. Congratulates Americanism Commission on its publication, "The Firing Line," and urges its continuance.
222. Commends those citizens who combat communism by undertaking dangerous missions of infiltration.
225. Approves existing loyalty oaths for student Federal loan program.
270. Urges that school administrators carefully consider backgrounds of speakers invited to address students, that students be informed of them.
341. Urges public support of House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee.
461. Urges legislation denying communists right to hold office in labor unions, etc.
572. Requests authorities enforce laws against persons who attempt to block troop trains.
586. Urges use of words, "The American Legion" in titles of Boys State programs.

CHILD WELFARE

226. Urges change in present policy of treating narcotics addiction.
227. Urges end to dissemination of obscene and pornographic literature to our youth.
258. Urges continued efforts to secure legislation to protect physically abused children.
569. Urges Posts to support programs informing the public of preventative aspects of deafness.
570. Urges Departments to secure legislation providing needed services to sufferers of cystic fibrosis.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

571. Authorizes a Special Committee to be required to prepare a proper resolution to extend

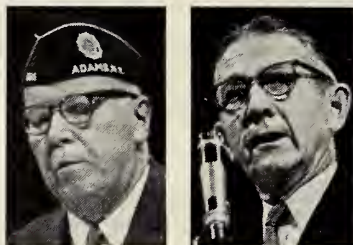
THE LEGION'S NATIONAL CONVENTION — CONTINUED

eligibility requirements for membership in The American Legion, to be submitted to the 1966 National Convention.

ECONOMIC

3. Petitions Congress to amend Title XV of the Social Security Act to afford separated Federal employees appeal rights.
4. Supports President's Committee, and state and local Committees on employment of the handicapped.
22. Commends Economic and Legislative Commissions for their efforts in maintaining adequate funds for the Veterans Employment Service.
37. Supports better Federal and State Veterans Employment Services.
66. Calls on National Legislative officers and Congressional representatives to oppose and defeat any attack upon Veterans Preference Act.
76. Opposes any legislation harmfully affecting the Veterans Preference Act.
99. Reiterates past endorsement of the Reemployment Rights Program and urges Congress to strengthen the program.
205. Continues support of the national program of employment for older workers.
232. Supports legislation empowering VA to assist GI mortgage homeowners in correcting structural defects in their homes.
436. Urges Federal and State Employment Services continue preference to qualified veterans in training and retraining opportunities.
484. Urges sufficient time for local veterans' Employment Representatives to carry out their duties in rendering services to veterans.
489. Urges adequate funds for required extension of specialized services to older workers.
576. Urges amendment of UMT to protect reemployment rights of men who serve beyond their regular military enlistment period.

122. Condemns the murder of Sgt. Harold G. Bennett by the Viet Cong.
155. Urges intensified U.S. efforts to gain release of any American imprisoned by communist governments.
235. Calls upon the U.S. Government to rid Cuba of its communist government.
237. Urges all U.S. relations with the communists be firm and meaningful, without appeasing con-



Generals Bruce Clark and James Collins. Clark, armored commander at St. Vith in the Battle of the Bulge, represented the Boy Scouts of America, while Gen. Collins spoke as President of the American National Red Cross.

- cessions.
238. Urges the Senate to reject the proposed Consular Treaty with the U.S.S.R.
 239. Urges enforcement of U.N. article concerning self-determination of the world's peoples.
 327. Urges enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.



The Nat'l Executive Committee met following the convention. Its actions included approval of reappointment of Nat'l Adj't E. A. Blackmore, Nat'l Judge Advocate Bertram G. Davis, Nat'l Treasurer Francis Polen, and Nat'l Historian Harold A. Shindler.

577. Supports legislation allowing WW2 and Korean veterans FHA insured veteran home loans.
578. Opposes transfer of GI Home Loan Program from Veterans Administration.

FINANCE

Unnumbered. Fixes Nat'l Legion dues at \$2 for 1966 (same as last year).

FOREIGN RELATIONS

55. Supports U.S. policy in Vietnam and urges strengthened military measures.
56. Supports U.S. action in Dominican Republic and urges unilateral action if OAS fails.
62. Deplores General DeGaulle's attitudes and actions toward NATO and other mutual assistance pacts.
121. Deplores the State Dep't's treatment of Mr. Otto F. Otepka, Chief, Evaluations Dept., State Department Security.

328. Opposes involvement in any non-communist country with communist representation in its government.
377. Supports U.S. efforts to repel world communism.
414. Opposes providing the U.N. with revenue sources independent of its members.
430. Deplores action of U.S. in not insisting upon strict application of U.N.'s Article 19 (arrearage of dues) and urges that it do so.
431. Urges that State Department's Security Office be given increased stature and powers.
432. Opposes relaxation of barriers in trade with communist nations, unless certain provisions are met.
447. Opposes foreign aid to any communist, communist-dominated or communist-affiliated country.
529. Opposes "general and complete disarmament" by the United States.
530. Reaffirms continued support of the Connally Reservation.
550. Opposes U.S. recognition of Red China and

its admission into the U.N.
556. Supports U.S. construction and control of a sea-level canal across the Central American isthmus.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

15. Urges appropriate stamp honoring General MacArthur at earliest date possible.
36. Commends Dep't of New Hampshire for its support of the Bell Tower Memorial.
95. Requests revision of Legion membership cards for use in automatic data processing.
138. Urges adequate financial aid to insure respect for our National Cemeteries.
229. Calls for plans to commemorate 50th anniversaries of U.S. entry into WW1 and founding of American Legion.
324. Requests American Legion publications illuminate its stand on various issues.
409. Requests issuance of postage stamp in 1969 marking 50th year of The American Legion.
501. Urges Congress reaffirm its policy of providing veterans' burial sites in national cemeteries.
546. Requests recognition of members having 50 years of continuous membership by 1969.
573. Alerts present and future Legion leaders to Extension Institute; directs Membership and Post Activities to expand its programs of leadership training.



Legionnaire Robert Hazen, Portland banker and president of the corporation that planned the convention, welcomes his comrades.

574. Urges every Post to institute a new member campaign.
575. Calls attention to local Legion leaders of the need for new Posts in areas not being adequately serviced by existing Posts.

LEGISLATIVE

241. Favors amendment of the Rules of the Senate to provide for a standing Veterans' Affairs Committee.

NATIONAL SECURITY

53. Calls for creation of a ribbon-bar for presentation as a scholastic award to R.O.T.C. recipients.
128. Commends retiring U.S. Air Force Gen. Curtis E. LeMay.
142. Urges continuance of the Legion's Special Subcommittee on Uniform Code of Military Justice and Court of Military Appeals.
212. Urges that training and operational control of U.S. Armed Forces be left entirely in hands of professional military chiefs and commanders rather than under civilian control.
261. Opposes civil disobedience and the establishment of civilian police review boards. Supports law enforcement authority and the maintenance of law and order.
265. Seeks legislation increasing retirement pay of career veterans of U.S. Armed Forces.
289. Urges U.S. military superiority over the U.S.S.R. rather than equal forces.
297. Continues support of R.O.T.C. program.

AT RIGHT are those who acted as chairmen in reporting to the delegates the recommendations of the ten Convention Committees on all resolutions.



AMERICANISM
Daniel O'Connor
New York



CHILD WELFARE
Morris Nooner
Illinois



CONSTITUTIONAL
AMENDMENTS
Francis Giordano
New York



ECONOMIC
John Flynn
California



Dinteman

BRIEF TEMPEST

THE FIRST floor debate came when the Nat'l Security Committee urged passage of Res. 299 urging "total military victory" in Vietnam with "unlimited weapons and unrestricted targets." Werner Dinteman, of Oregon, objected that the last phrase could be taken to mean use of nuclear weapons by field commanders. He was quickly supported by Jean Hynson, of South Carolina. Arguments and alternatives came from the floor in profusion and confusion. Then William Doyle (N.J.), Nat'l Security Chairman, accepted "total military victory" as sufficient and so did everyone else, and Res. 299 was adopted with "unlimited weapons, etc." stricken.



Hynson

298. Opposes military service exemption for members of the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America.

299. Calls for total military victory in the war in South Vietnam.

313. Demands investigation of reported insufficiency of U.S. conventional weapons and calls for remedies of any deficiencies.

355. Commends and supports U.S. military aerospace program.

358. Urges U.S. development and deployment of an effective advanced anti-missile weapon system.

359. Calls for a dental care program for dependents of military personnel similar to the present medical care program.

361. Urges more adequate housing for military personnel and families.

362. Supports continued operation of commissary stores and post exchanges for military personnel.

368. Calls for increased Legion post and community cooperation in the Nationwide Fallout Shelter System program.

381. Urges the continuance of a balanced mix of manned and unmanned strategic weapons systems to assure U.S. military superiority.

382. Commends U.S. astronauts Lt. Col. James A. McDivitt and Edward H. White II, for space achievements.



Portland Mayor Terry D. Schunk gets keys to Birmingham, Ala., from Donna Parker, Miss American Legion of Alabama, in presence of Alabama Nat'l Executive Committeeman Hugh Overton.

522. Calls for recognition of September 18, 1965, as U.S. Air Force Day.

555. Supports S. 173, 89th Congress, to allow enlisted men to count for retirement purposes non-active duty reserve time.

580. Calls for any means necessary to assure continued U.S. supremacy on the high seas.

581. Seeks to maintain the U.S. Marine Corps at full authorized strength.

582. Urges the highest national defense priority be given to U.S. Navy Anti-Submarine Warfare forces for protection of continental U.S.

583. Calls for authorization and construction of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier CVA-68.

584. Supports the U.S. Navy Oceanography Program.

585. Urges all action necessary to obtain and maintain a strong U.S. Merchant Marine.

587. Recommends that realignment of Reserve components in the U.S. Army be deferred and that needs of state governments to use military units in local emergencies be considered when preparing future realignment plans.

588. Urges Congress to restore funds deleted from the Civil Defense budget.

589. Pledges Legion support to federal, state, and local governments in emergency preparedness plans and activities.

590. Authorizes the national commander to establish a committee to study the material and logistic requirements of the armed forces.

591. Opposes purchase of U.S. vessels constructed in foreign lands.

592. Calls upon the U.S. government to accelerate development of supersonic transport aircraft.

REHABILITATION

19. Opposes closing of VA hospitals, domiciliary homes and regional offices.

27. Supports legislation allowing nonservice-connected disabled veterans in Alaska and Hawaii to be hospitalized in VA contract hospitals.

32. Continues support of legislation to fully re-

open WW2 and Korea vets life insurance for 12 months.

46. Supports legislation increasing VA burial allowance to \$350.

50. Seeks service-connection of functional psychosis on a presumptive basis within three years after military discharge.

100. Asks Congress to restore closed VA domiciliary facilities and to make more available.

101. Petitions Congress to curb power of the Bureau of the Budget over the VA.

125. Supports legislation providing a benefits program for "cold-war" veterans.

126. Seeks to rescind order barring giving free cigarettes to VA hospital patients.

131. Opposes hospitalization of non-veterans in VA hospitals.

158. Supports legislation to increase size of veterans' burial flags to 5x9 1/2 feet.

159. Seeks legislation to correct existing deficiencies and inadequacies in veterans pension program.

293. Opposes closing of VA regional offices and insists that each office retain jurisdiction of claims folders.

295. Continues support of legislation to increase rates of disability compensation.

331. Compliments Legion and Auxiliary members for their cooperation in the campaign opposing closing of VA facilities.

419. Supports legislation improving dependency and indemnity compensation program for dependent parents.

420. Endorses Congressional bills to prohibit closing of VA facilities without consent of Congress.

467. Opposes legislation reducing VA burial allowance when the deceased veteran is buried in a national cemetery.

477. Urges salary increases for certain VA personnel.

478. Urges legislation to provide children of veterans who died in service the same benefits as children of retired military personnel.

516. Seeks relief for veterans who suffer loss of VA compensation by the receipt of military disability severance pay (in hardship cases).



As convention ends, outgoing Nat'l Commander Donald E. Johnson, Iowa, (podium) receives his permanent colors, presented by James Powers, Ga.



Brickfield



Todd

Cyril Brickfield spoke as Deputy Director of the VA, while William Todd (Tenn.) headed Legion committee whose plan to liberalize American Legion Life Insurance was approved by Exec. Committee.

397. Reaffirms Legion position that there be no reduction of U.S. armed strength and no closing of essential worldwide defense bases.

517. Requests Department of Defense to convey messages of death of military personnel by members of U.S. Armed Forces rather than commercial telegram or telephone means.

518. Calls for U.S. and western allies to assume the offensive in the Cold War.

519. Urges rapid U.S. development and launching of a Manned Orbiting Laboratory in space.

520. Urges production and deployment of an advanced manned interceptor aircraft on a priority basis.



FINANCE
Churchill Williams
Iowa



FOREIGN
RELATIONS
Thomas Whelan
N. Dakota



INTERNAL AFFAIRS
Herb Jacobi
Dist. Col.



LEGISLATION
Clarence Horton
Alabama



NATIONAL
SECURITY
William Doyle
New Jersey



REHABILITATION
Robert McCurdy
California

NORTH CAROLINA YOUTHS WIN LEGION NATIONAL BASEBALL CHAMPIONSHIP

THE BASEBALL TEAM sponsored by Hornet's Nest American Legion Post 9, Charlotte, N.C., won the 1965 American Legion World Series at Aberdeen, S.D., Aug. 31-Sept. 6, as the tournament returned to the state where the Legion's youth baseball program got its start 40 years ago.

Charlotte, Region 3 champs, beat runner-up Omaha Post 1 by 2-1 in the 15th and final game of the two-losses-and-out series on Sept. 6 in a light rain.

Earlier that day, Omaha, Region 6 champs, had wiped out Memphis Post 1 in the 14th game while Charlotte, which suffered its only series loss to Memphis, drew a bye.

Runner-up in the 1964 Legion World Series at Little Rock, Ark., Charlotte still had roughly half of last year's players on this year's team. Lewis Bacot, Jr., was manager of the Charlotte club, and Jack Lemonds was coach.

The American Legion Baseball Player of the Year for 1965 is Kenneth J. Fila, 18, of Omaha Post 1. The 170-lb. 6-ft. lefty pitched 21 scoreless innings in the series. The San Francisco Giants have drafted him. He was a high school baseball and basketball star, has a good scholastic record, and plans to go to college if not into pro ball.

The James F. Daniel Sportsmanship Award went to William K. Oakley, 18, centerfielder from Memphis Post 1.

The 1965 American Legion Batting Championship was won by Roland Goulet, Jr., 18, from Ryan-Scammon Post 36, Berlin, N.H., who compiled a .542 batting average with 13 hits in 24-at-bats over 30 appearances in regional and series play. He got the Hillerich & Bradsby Louisville Slugger Trophy.

The series, hosted by Sidney L. Smith Post 24 of Aberdeen, drew 15,549 fans for the 15 games. Attendance was held down by cold weather Sept. 3-4, and light rain Sept. 6.

The eight regional championship teams and their order of finish in Legion World Series play:

1. Region 3—Hornet's Nest Post 9, Charlotte, N.C. (W 4—L 1).
2. Region 6—Omaha Post 1, Omaha, Neb. (W 4—L 2).
3. Region 4—Memphis Post 1, Memphis, Tenn. (W 3—L 2).
4. Region 8—Ontario Post 112, Ontario, Calif. (W 2—L 2).
5. Region 5—Merle Guild Post 208, Arlington Heights, Ill. (W 1—L 2).
6. Region 7—Allied Post 150, Portland, Ore. (W 1—L 2).
7. Region 2 — Barringer-Walker Post 139, Lyndhurst, N.J. (W 0—L 2).
8. Region 1—Ryan-Scammon Post 36, Berlin, N.H. (W 0—L 2).

FOUR YEARS OF THE BERLIN WALL

(Continued from page 11)

public," whereupon his wife divorced him.

Construction engineer Peter Selle swam across the Elbe River to West Germany in July 1963, then began plotting to smuggle out his wife Barbara, who had been unwilling to dare the river with him. In 17-year-old Dorothea Voss, Peter found a girl who looked like Barbara. He courted Dorothea, invited her to spend the weekend with him in Berlin. He suggested they visit East Berlin, and once there, abandoned her in a cafe after getting her papers by a trick.

Peter gave Dorothea's papers to Barbara, led her through the communist checkpoint to West Berlin, and the two flew to West Germany. Dorothea was held for six weeks by the communists, who never take any story on face value, particularly if one's identity papers are missing. Her father brought charges against Selle, who admitted them, but said he'd thought even the communists would release an obviously innocent person after two or three days. He was sentenced to a year in jail for deprivation of personal freedom.

In January 1965, 14-year-old Joachim Rojahn slipped through a section of the barbed wire into West Berlin. He told refugee reception center officials that his mother, father and three sisters were going to try to reach West Berlin a few days later. But when they hadn't turned up by the end of March, the lad became dejected. One night he disappeared. Two days later, his parents managed to reach West Berlin, after crawling through a field of barbed wire in a wooded area. Inquiries indicated Joachim had by now returned to East Berlin and had been seen at an immigration center there, presumably trying to rejoin his parents whom he imagined still there. A week later, the rest of the family also returned to East Berlin, and certain imprisonment, leaving behind a letter saying Frau Rojahn could not stand the thought of being separated from her son.

THE communists steadfastly refuse to permit any East Berlin or East German resident to visit West Berlin. But in December 1963, they did agree to let West Berliners visit East Berlin for a few hours at Christmas, New Year's, Easter and Pentecost. Between 500,000 and 700,000 of West Berlin's 2.2 million residents have visited East Berlin at each of the eight opportunities thus offered during the last two years, passing through steel gates set in holes in the wall like prison doors.

During the Easter 1965 visits, 26-year-old Dieter Mahrholdt of West Berlin had just finished hugging his grandmother in

a tearful reunion in East Berlin when the doorbell rang. In burst 36-year-old Horst Streit, an East German con man, who flashed a dime-store detective badge and announced he was a "People's Policeman" checking travel documents. He demanded Mahrholdt hand over his papers for further scrutiny at headquarters. The Germans learned long ago never to give a cop a bad time, and Mahrholdt gave up his papers without a fuss. Streit went straight to the border crossing point, displayed Mahrholdt's papers as if they were his own, and was waved on into West Berlin.

MAHRHOLDT and his friend, Juergen Rehbein, grew worried when it became time to return to West Berlin and Streit hadn't come back with the papers. They finally went to the nearest police station to ask for them. The "People's Police" jailed them both, on suspicion they were plotting against the communist regime. When the two didn't return to West Berlin that night, relatives asked the police there for help, and they turned up Streit, who was discovered to have a previous jail record. Streit claimed he was a minor Cold War hero who had at great personal risk been adjusting television antennae in East Germany to pick up West German stations, and that he only "borrowed" Mahrholdt's papers because he was on the run from the communist cops. Like Selle, he said he too had thought an obvious victim of a sharper's trick would be released after a day or two.

But Mahrholdt and Rehbein were held for 49 days, cross-examined, often for a day and night without interruption, by communists who insisted they must have been plotting against the security of the "German Democratic Republic." Eventually they were released, but only after a West Berlin court, which refused to extradite Streit to East Berlin, ordered him imprisoned for three years for employing an illegal ruse to deprive another of his freedom.

The holiday passes agreement signed in December 1963 was renewed the following year, but this summer the communists tried to raise the ante. The West Berlin city administration and the allies have hitherto treated it as a technical agreement involving no recognition of the East German Government. But the communists now insist the condition for another round of visits is recognition of East Germany as a sovereign state. This would, however, free the Russians of any responsibility for guaranteeing freedom of access to West Berlin, and that price the allies are unwilling to pay. The communists also are trying to tack

(Continued on page 46)

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FOUR YEARS OF THE BERLIN WALL

(Continued from page 44)

on a "good conduct" clause which would make execution of a passes agreement dependent on assurances that nothing prejudicial to the interests of the East German regime be permitted in West Berlin. This is an old Soviet demand, aimed at forcing the closure of the West Berlin radio and television stations heard throughout East Germany. It, too, was rejected out of hand.

The wall itself, an ugly, writhing monster, with dirty rivulets of crusted mortar running down its sides like seaweed down the flanks of a beast risen from the depths of the sea, still stands.

With his wall, East Germany's Ulbricht effectively defined the limits of American and allied power, at the cost of building a permanent and visual proof that given a true choice, people prefer the free world to the communists', and can be kept inside the latter only by bottling them up.

The wall has become West Berlin's major tourist attraction, a mecca which seems to draw and offer fresh resolve and strength to those whose faith in freedom may have wavered and whose understanding of the issues may have become clouded. The wall restores clarity. It is communism's most revealing monument.

West Berlin was cut off from many of its natural markets and its source of replacement manpower. But there are more than enough markets in the West for the goods its 2.2 million people produce, and new workers are being brought in from the more distant West German provinces. The city has re-established it-

self as Germany's cultural center, and is a gathering place for artists from all over the world. Direct flights link it daily with Paris, London and New York.

The wall did permit Ulbricht to consolidate his hold on East Germany. With the once open door now closed, many East Germans who had resisted the regime in little ways have decided to make the best of a bad deal and now cooperate with it. In return, the East German people have been granted additional privileges, the secret police are less active, no one need fear arrest any longer for watching Western television.

THE people of East Germany are being treated as prisoners on good behavior. They may circulate within their cell block a little more freely, but the door to the block is locked and guarded, and they are prisoners still.

And the extra privileges aren't enough to prevent youths like Gregor Neumann braving the hazards of the wall to reach freedom. Since it was built, at least 4,000 persons have conquered the wall to reach West Berlin. Many others have tried, but failed. The night after Neumann's swim, residents of the Wedding district saw a communist flare go up over the grounds of the old Stettin Railway station. In the glare they saw a man who already had crawled past the first barbed wire barricade jump up and start to run toward the wall. The communist soldiers cut him down with five or six bursts from their machineguns. Two walked over, grabbed his arms and dragged him away, his head dangling lifelessly. THE END



"I take it you were out kind of late last night."

THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE

PERSONAL

MEDICARE BASICS. RECHARGING DRY CELLS. PATENT FEES RISE.

Amid the millions of words pouring out on Medicare and Social Security, don't lose sight of these key facts and dates:

- **Free insurance covering hospitalization** and home health services begins on July 1, 1966; extended care begins January 1, 1967.
- The voluntary insurance program, covering **doctor bills and other services** for a \$3-a-month premium, begins July 1, 1966.

- **You don't have to register for the free part of Medicare if you already are in the Social Security or railroad retirement programs;** otherwise, look up your nearest Social Security office and get yourself on record (provided, of course, that you are 65).

- **If you want to join the \$3-a-month plan, you can enroll between now and March 1, 1966,** if you are—or shortly will be—65; those reaching 65 later on can enroll at periodic, specified dates. Enrollment is via Social Security, which will supply any details you may need.

- **Don't rashly cancel any health insurance you now have.** Remember, Medicare won't be in operation until next July.

- Meantime, if you are receiving Social Security, **your payments have gone up at least 7%, retroactive to January 1 of this year.** To cover the fore part of the year, you'll get a "catch-up" check. Here's how to tell if it's correct: It should be 7% of the total amount you received for the first eight months of 1965. In other words, if you got \$100 a month through August (or \$800 all told) your "catch-up" is \$56.

- To pay for these new health programs, **Social Security tax rates will rise in 1966.** An employed person will be tagged 4.2% on earnings up to \$6,600 (thus making a maximum of \$277.20); a self-employed person's rate will be 6.15% (maximum of \$405.90).

★ ★ ★

The cordless revolution in appliances, toys, etc.—meaning they are battery-powered—is bringing a **flurry of battery chargers onto the market.** The upshot is speculation whether 1) primary dry cells, which are not specifically designed for recharging, actually can be revived, and 2) whether recharging is safe. Here's the latest on the matter:

- Frank Yeaple, one of the editors of Product Engineering, has just concluded a series of tests which show that **"Penlite," "C," and "D" batteries indeed can be rejuvenated by use of recharging devices,** if they aren't too old.

- Moreover, restoration works not only on the common, inexpensive zinc-carbon batteries, but also on the more expensive mercury and alkaline types.

- Contrary to supposition, **batteries won't explode while being recharged—**at least not if the recharger is used within sane limits. In any case, directions accompanying battery chargers should be followed carefully.

★ ★ ★

This month just about **all Patent Office fees will be doubled or tripled.**

Filing charges will rise from \$30 to \$65, plus certain extras; issuance fees go from \$30 to \$100, plus extras; appeals from \$25 to \$50, plus \$50 on filing a brief; petitions to revive are upped from \$10 to \$15; and the recording of assignments rises from \$3 to \$20. Meantime, the cost of obtaining a printed copy of a patent will be doubled to 50¢.

Note that the new legislation **does not include a graduated maintenance fee over the 17-year life of a patent.** Such a fee had been proposed, but the idea was dropped when objectors warned it might be a backdoor way to shorten the life of a patent.

★ ★ ★

Points worth bearing in mind while shopping:

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TV: The color boom has rolled along to the point where 40% to 95% of the nighttime network shows now are "colorized." In about a year, just about the entire nighttime schedule will be in tint.

—By Edgar A. Grunwald

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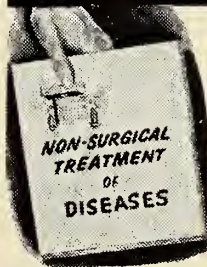
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ing the Soviet and American aloofness from each other to an end. Why give a State Department mission to an official of the Treasury Department? According to the "Morgenthau Diaries," Mr. Roosevelt felt that there was opposition to his plans within the State Department and that someone there might throw monkey wrenches into his machinery.

Morgenthau's first contact, through intermediaries, was with officials of Amtorg, a Soviet-American commercial agency chartered as a stock company in New York. The talks, continued through the summer, proved fruitless.

The President meanwhile referred all requests for appointments to discuss the question of Soviet recognition to another trusted lieutenant, Raymond Moley, Asst. Sec'y of State under Cordell Hull.

For good measure he further appointed his old buddy, Bill Bullitt, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. Meanwhile, Secretary Hull began asking foreign diplomats in Washington about the techniques their governments employed for bringing about Soviet recognition, the problems faced in the process, and their countries' experiences with the Soviet since the resumption of diplomatic relations.

On May 16, 1933, President Roosevelt, increasingly impatient with the barrenness of the Morgenthau-Amtorg dialogue, took an unusual step. He appealed to some 50 heads of other nations to cooperate in the World Economic Conference slated to convene in London in June. One of these requests went to Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin. It was the first time since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 that the White House communicated directly with the Kremlin.

Kalinin speedily replied that the peaceful objectives described in the Roosevelt appeal coincided exactly with those of the Soviet Union. The Soviet press hailed the White House initiative as a practical first step toward recognition.

This favorable reaction was in keeping with the general Soviet policy of that time to "studiously cultivate an aura of respectability," as Professor Browder put it.

Possible abandonment of world revolution as a communist objective was hinted.

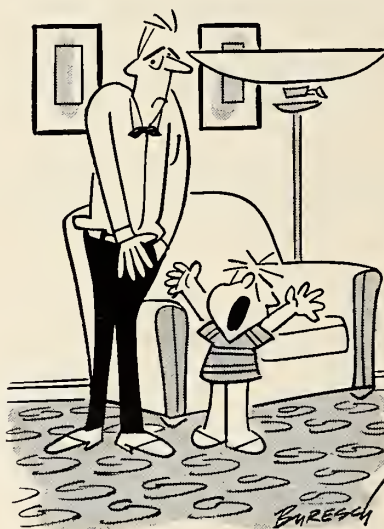
The President appointed Hull, Moley and Bullitt to represent our country during the London Conference. The choice of Bullitt was taken by the Russians as a clear indication that Mr. Roosevelt was amenable to Russian advances.

Maxim Litvinov, in his initial speech to the London Conference on June 14, addressed himself chiefly to the United States, although seeming to speak to all nations. Dangling the figure of one bil-

lion American dollars worth of Russian orders as bait, he was careful to enumerate commodities which our producers and manufacturers were especially well equipped to supply. But he also stressed that long-term credits were essential to enable Russia to place these orders.

Secretary Hull had several conversations in London with Litvinov. In his "Memoirs" he revealed that during these talks "the groundwork was laid for our later personal discussions at the time of recognition." Moley and Bullitt also saw Litvinov.

On July 2, Moley and Litvinov conferred about a loan to Amtorg. The next day, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation granted Amtorg a \$4 million credit for the purchase of American cot-



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THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE

ton. Though the loan was for only one year, its importance lay in the fact that it was given by a U.S. Government agency, thus breaching one of the barriers between the two nations.

While there was considerable criticism of this transaction in America, the business community hailed it. The R.F.C. was urged by more than 40 American firms for loans wherewith to sell other goods to Russia on credit. The Soviet dictatorship was naturally in high glee.

Meanwhile, the Nazi regime in Germany increasingly revealed itself as a potential threat to world peace. That Mr. Roosevelt was bitterly anti-Hitler was generally known. Mr. Hull, too, had no doubts about Germany's intentions and capacities under Hitler's rule. Moscow hinted at a possible common front against Nazism, and reached willing ears. By now, Mr. Hull had gradually come

to believe that our country and not the Russian dictators had most to gain from recognition. He noted that our Government was without dependable sources of information about the USSR, whereas the Soviets could get their facts about us through the American Communist Party, the Soviet Information Bureau in Washington and the Amtorg Corp. in New York.

It was not long before Robert F. Kelley, Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs in the State Department, was instructed to draft a memorandum for the White House on all phases of the Soviet recognition question.

Mr. Kelley warned repeatedly in the "Memorandum" that *all* outstanding issues between the two governments must be settled *before* recognition should be extended; afterwards it would be too late. America's demands, he argued, should be:

1. Moscow must sever all connections with communists in the United States and refrain from reactivating them after recognition;

2. Russian debts must be settled; French and English experience had shown that discussion of payments *after* recognition had proven futile;

3. The legal rights of American citizens in Russia must be clearly defined and agreed upon *before* recognition.

In September 1933, the President sought Mr. Hull's personal views on recognition. The Secretary of State declared himself in accord with the Kelley "Memorandum." American recognition, he noted, was eagerly desired by the communist regime because its international and domestic position would be greatly enhanced thereby. This put the U.S. in a powerful bargaining position to settle *all points at issue beforehand*.

Mr. Roosevelt now decided the time had come to act positively. First, however, he added one more demand to the Kelley list:

4. Assurances must be given that the rights of Americans in Russia to observe the rituals of their respective faiths and churches "without annoyance or molestations" would be scrupulously observed.

Then the President took over completely. He rejected Secretary Hull's advice that the State Department establish direct contact with the Soviet Government. Instead, he drafted Bill Bullitt as his man Friday. The State Department was kept pretty much in the dark about details of Bullitt's exploratory moves. Working through Boris E. Skvirsky, director of the Soviet Information Bureau in Washington, Bullitt acquainted the Russian Government with America's readiness to negotiate. A cagey but affirmative reply came from the Kremlin.

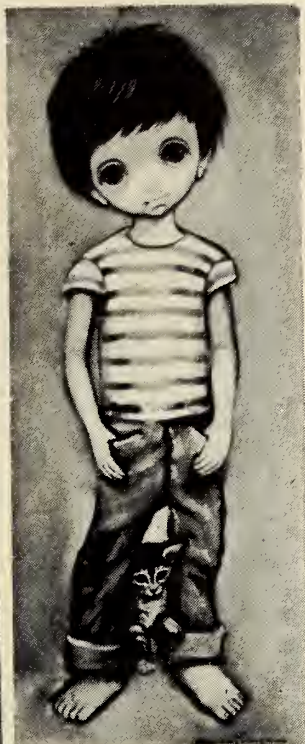
(Continued on page 52)

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WHEN F.D.R. RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET UNION

(Continued from page 50)

An invitation, so worded as to make sure that Maxim Litvinov would be sent to deal directly with F.D.R., was drafted and transmitted for approval to Moscow.

The invitation was signed by our President and addressed to Mikhail Kalinin under date of October 10, 1933. It read in part as follows:

"Difficulties between great nations can be removed only by frank, friendly conversations. I should be glad to receive any representatives you may designate to explore with me personally all questions outstanding between our countries. Participation in such discussion would, of course, not commit either nation to any future course of action."

In his reply dated October 17, Mikhail Kalinin observed:

"There is no doubt that difficulties, present or arising, between two countries, can be solved only when direct relations exist between them; and that, on the other hand, they have no chance for solution in the absence of such relations."

He accepted the American proposal, adding that Maxim Litvinov would represent the Soviet Government.

President Kalinin craftily observed that the solution of difficulties could be solved "only when direct relations exist," quite the opposite of Kelley's insistence on settling problems first.

Commissar Litvinov, as we shall see, fought hard to postpone definite commitments until after recognition, thereby disclosing the real meaning of Kalinin's formulation. He was partly successful. The climate in the United States in favor of Soviet recognition by now was such that the President's failure to heed fully the Hull and Kelley warnings was little noticed.

LITVINOV LEFT Russia on October 26 with a document signed by Lenin and Chicherin 15 years earlier naming him Soviet ambassador to the United States. He made clever propaganda use of it to show how long Russia had desired friendship with the United States.

On his arrival in Berlin en route, Litvinov said that agreement in Washington could be attained "in half an hour." This statement was unfavorably commented upon in the American press. But Litvinov, unabashed, repeated the statement on arrival in New York Harbor on November 7, and stressed that, if the world's two greatest "republics" could link their efforts, "one of the most solid guarantees of peace" could be given a war-weary world.

At Washington, the heavily guarded Russian Commissar was given V.I.P. treatment. Secretary Hull delayed his departure for an inter-American con-

ference in Montevideo, Uruguay, to welcome his Soviet colleague. That same evening he presented Litvinov in the traditional Blue Room of the White House to President Roosevelt, who laughingly had suggested that the historic Red Room might be more fitting. In a brief meeting both statesmen greeted each other affably.

Mr. Hull in his "Memoirs" described the Commissar: "Round-faced and rugged, and of more than normal weight, he possessed an agreeable personality," but added that he was very guarded in what he said.

At the President's suggestion the first business meeting, on November 8, took place in the State Department. Mr. Litvinov was informed by Mr. Hull and his experts on Russian affairs of the guarantees demanded as a pre-condition of recognition, with the sole exception of the ticklish question of Russian debts, which was reserved for a later meeting.

The Commissar expressed grave surprise at this turn of events and said he needed time for study.

IT BECAME EVIDENT immediately that he was in no mood to give the desired pledges. He seemed particularly disturbed at the guaranty of nonpropaganda and noncommunist activity, stating bluntly that his Government would never make such a commitment. This first encounter, however, made it crystal clear that settlement of the points at issue must come first in the negotiations, and only after that had been achieved, recognition.

A second conference proved equally unproductive. The press had a difficult task getting news about the meetings. Six days after the final session with Litvinov, the State Department revealed that "no stenographers were present and no reports made, and thus, so far as the conferences are concerned, there will be a bare outline and not a full picture exposed to the future historian."

Fortunately, the memoirs of important participants, official documents made available later to research, and private papers in the Roosevelt and other collections have enabled historians to reconstruct what happened.


The only hope of breaking the impasse quickly seemed, to Secretary Hull, to lie in a direct confrontation with President Roosevelt, which Litvinov eagerly desired. The President agreed.

During their first top-level business session Mr. Roosevelt fairly oozed charm, reviewed the problems under debate, introduced humor into the solemnity of the talks, and after an hour's give-and-take suggested, according to

(Continued on page 54)

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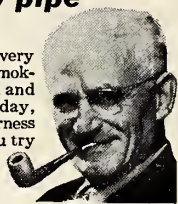
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WHEN F.D.R. RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET UNION

(Continued from page 52)

Professor Browder, "that he and the Commissar meet again in the evening alone and continue their conversation in private, where they could, if need be, insult each other with impunity. Litvinov laughed heartily. . . ."

Their private evening meeting lasted for three hours.

Mr. Hull then left for Montevideo, and all parleys not conducted personally by the President were carried on by Mr. Bullitt.

A second private conversation between Roosevelt and Litvinov brought about agreement on all points except the question of unpaid debts, chiefly incurred by the Provisional Government of Russia after the fall of the Czar.

Disregarding all urgent advice, President Roosevelt hastily drafted a "gentlemen's agreement" which fixed the amount to be paid by the USSR at "not less than \$75,000,000," but with Litvinov promising to advise his Government to accept \$100 million instead of the \$150 million suggested by the President as the minimum acceptable to the Congress of the United States in payment of a debt of \$188 million. The most ominous words of that thoroughly unclear agreement, which Litvinov eagerly accepted, were contained in the closing paragraph:

"Mr. Litvinov agreed to remain in Washington after resumption of relations and to discuss" the terms of settlement. In other words, the "gentlemen's agreement" left the subject open. Its text was not published until 16 years later. It was drafted without benefit of legal counsel, making different interpretations possible, and in due time was quietly buried.

Neither the President nor the Commissar took notes during their long private negotiations, and to this day an aura of mystery surrounds one of the most portentous bilateral international conferences of this century. In Russia the press did not reveal the terms to which Litvinov had agreed. A few of the Commissar's pledges on behalf of his Government are herewith quoted in abbreviated form:

"To refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States. . . ."

"To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of Government or under its direct or indirect control . . . from any act . . . liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the U.S."

"Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory . . . and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group . . . which has as an aim

. . . the preparation for . . . the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of . . . the United States."

At midnight of November 16-17, following the annual Cabinet Dinner, the signatures of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov were affixed in the President's study to the exchange of letters documenting their understandings. At the same time the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was officially recognized by the Government of the United States.

Both signatories and Bill Bullitt seemed tremendously pleased. Cordell Hull was awakened from sleep on the S.S. American Legion en route to Uruguay to be told of the recognition. According to his "Memoirs," he read the message "joyfully" and remarked, "I hope it lasts."

BEFORE LITVINOV left for Moscow, newsmen asked him what effect the Soviet pledge of noninterference in American affairs would have on the American Communist Party. He asserted that the American communists had no "concern" with the Russian Communist Party, and vice versa. A few days after recognition he urged the secretariat of the American communists in a secret session not to worry about the understandings he had signed. They got the message.

The Russian press went overboard praising the success of the Litvinov mission. Greatest stress was laid upon the prestige gained through American recognition. Premier V. M. Molotov hailed it as "the greatest achievement of Soviet foreign policy."

In America, those who approved the President's step now were in the majority, others regarded recognition as something on which the clock could not be turned back and must therefore be accepted as a reality, while still others, a vociferous minority, remained unconvinced.

National Commander Edward A. Hayes of the American Legion, while promising that, as good soldiers, the Legionnaires would accept the situation, nevertheless warned: "Whether we accept defeat gracefully or not, the American Legion will never approve the admitted tenets that are opposed in principle and in practice to our belief in the deity and our belief in American institutions and government."

The communist "Daily Worker" of New York threw a verbal bomb. It announced that "the Communist Party . . . will more than ever strive to win the American workers for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the emulation

(Continued on page 56)

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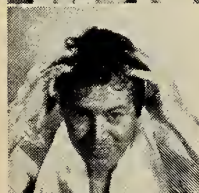
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of the Soviet Union and its revolutionary victories."

Since it was an open secret that the American communists were actively supported by Moscow, this defiant threat hardly jibed with Litvinov's pledge to Roosevelt.

Business circles continued to be extremely optimistic about trade possibilities with the USSR. Their first disillusionment came from the man who since the days of Woodrow Wilson had continuously championed recognition: William C. Bullitt, appointed first U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Bullitt was given a hero's welcome when he presented his credentials at the Kremlin in mid-December 1933. But before the month was over, he was shocked when Litvinov, who had spoken of a billion dollars' worth of orders from America, informed him that \$60 million was the maximum sum that Russia could afford for buying American products; anything beyond that would have to be financed by American credits.

Returning to America in January 1934, Bullitt warned American businessmen, in an address before the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, to cut down their optimistic estimates.

On resuming his Moscow post, Bullitt had his second disappointment. Coming to grips with the unsettled problem of Russian debts, he found Litvinov more intransigent than ever. The Russian Commissar found loopholes in President Roosevelt's hastily drafted "gentlemen's agreement" which put Russia in a strong bargaining position. The Commissar proved so stubborn and unyielding that Secretary Hull transferred the negotiations to Washington. After two more years of fruitless wrangling, the matter was dropped without a cent of payment.

Bullitt became even more disillusioned when in the summer of 1934 he learned of Soviet Russia's ideas about cooperation in the event of our involvement in a war with Japan. He wrote to Secretary Hull: "The Soviet Union would certainly attempt to avoid becoming an ally until Japan had been thoroughly defeated and would then merely use the opportunity to acquire Manchuria and Sovietize China." The pages of history probably contain few more accurate prophecies.

Our Ambassador's disillusionment was complete when in July of 1935 the Communist International convened in Moscow, and the American Communist Party reported on the revolutionary movement in the United States.

Bill Bullitt now blew his top. Ignoring the usual rules and amenities of diplomacy, he called a press conference. He branded the action of the Soviet Government in playing host to the Third In-

ternational's Congress as an "act of unparalleled treachery," and urged our Government to sever the relations for which he had worked so hard.

The Secretary of State supported the Ambassador's denunciation but said and did nothing about ending relations.

These relations during some 30 years attained their highest peak of guarded amity during World War 2, when the two giants fought a common enemy. They reached their lowest point of publicly vaunted recriminations during the direct confrontation in Cuba in 1962.

In the catalog of history since 1933, the Soviet Union did not keep one of the conditions on which its recognition was based.

One of the saddest footnotes to this history is that it was essentially business pressures in the United States, lured by the promise of billions of dollars in exports to Russia, which carried the day in 1933 over all the objections to the Soviet Union as an international outlaw. Yet our exports to her never came close to the American predictions or Soviet hints of 1933. In all 32 years of our recognition of the USSR our trade exports have come only to \$1.3 billion.

WE GAVE THE Soviet Union \$10.8 billion in lend-lease in WW2. We never sought payment for lend-lease goods used up in the war. But the value of lend-lease materiel kept in Russia for peacetime use is estimated at more than \$1 billion, or virtually what all of our trade export to Russia in 32 years has been worth. In seeking payment for the leftover lend-lease in the early 1950s, the United States came down to a figure of \$800 million as one it would settle for. But the negotiations fell through and haven't been revived in more than a dozen years. Meanwhile, Moscow held on to 84 merchant ships and 49 military watercraft which were returnable under lend-lease.

Lend-lease aside, the \$1.3 billion of "normal" exports in 32 years is pitiful beside Sen. Hiram Johnson's prediction that there "are billions of dollars' worth of future orders in Russia for American workers to fill."

One reason lies in the restrictions on trade with the Soviets that we have imposed because of their total posture of aggressiveness toward the free world. Despite business arguments to the contrary in 1933, we have found that in practice we cannot conduct business without regard to international morality or the needs of our national security.

But the very nature of communist governments has proved to pose even more difficult trade problems. Credit is risky. The "customer" is not a business concern

but a government which uses trade politically. There is no way to enforce contracts or assure payments. The Soviet Union has not yet signed the Paris Convention on international patent rights. Mutual confidence, the bedrock of all trade, is absent. Though businessmen thought otherwise in 1933, there is no way to conduct trade with a communist nation apart from all of its other machinations.

In retrospect, virtually all of the prophecies made in support of recognition have failed to come true. Virtually all of those made against it have come to pass.

An interesting footnote was written in May of this year when the Committee for Economic Development (CED), a distinguished U.S. study group, issued a report called "East-West Trade, A Common Policy for the West." It recommends setting up machinery for increasing trade between the West and the communist-bloc nations, a note that is reminiscent of the high hopes in 1933. In view of our experience since 1933, the dissent of CED member Robert Kleberg, Jr., President of King Ranch, Inc., is worth noting.

"I do not believe," wrote Kleberg, "that a policy statement by CED on East-West trade is advisable at this time. The whole matter of East-West relationships, ranging as it does from the shooting war in Vietnam through the counterthreats of atomic retaliation to the stalemate in Cuba, the propaganda war in South America and Communist attempts at subversion of emerging nations in Africa, is so complex that it is not possible to consider East-West trade as a separate issue. I feel that it would be unrealistic to hope that mutually useful trade could be developed with the Communist countries under present circumstances. We would receive little benefit from such trade and would expose the Western world to some or all of the following hazards:

"(1) An increase in Communist propaganda and subversion in Latin America under the guise of trade.

"(2) An opening of the trade barriers which we have attempted to impose around Cuba.

"(3) A further detriment to our balance of payments position as a result of the credits which we would have to extend to Communist countries.

"(4) An increase in the flow of our technical information and know-how to the Communist world.

"In short, Communist governments look upon trade as a political weapon and use it as such. So long as this is true, we should attempt to deny it to them."

Except for some modern details, that could have been written in 1933 by the opposition to recognition. THE END

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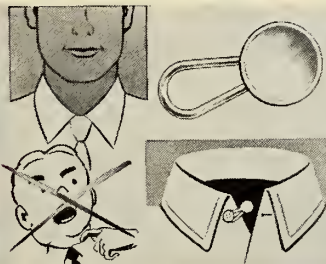
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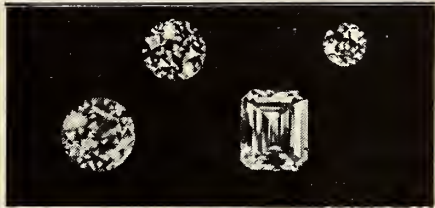
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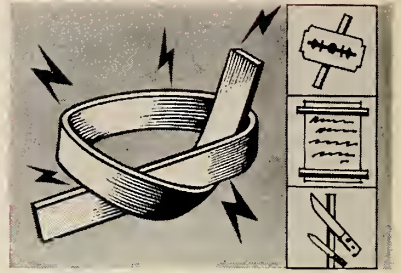
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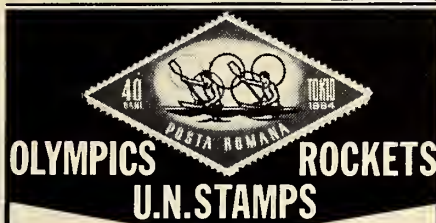


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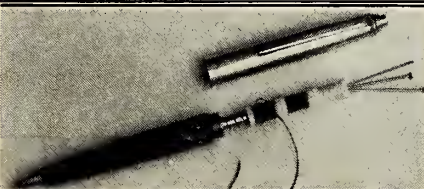
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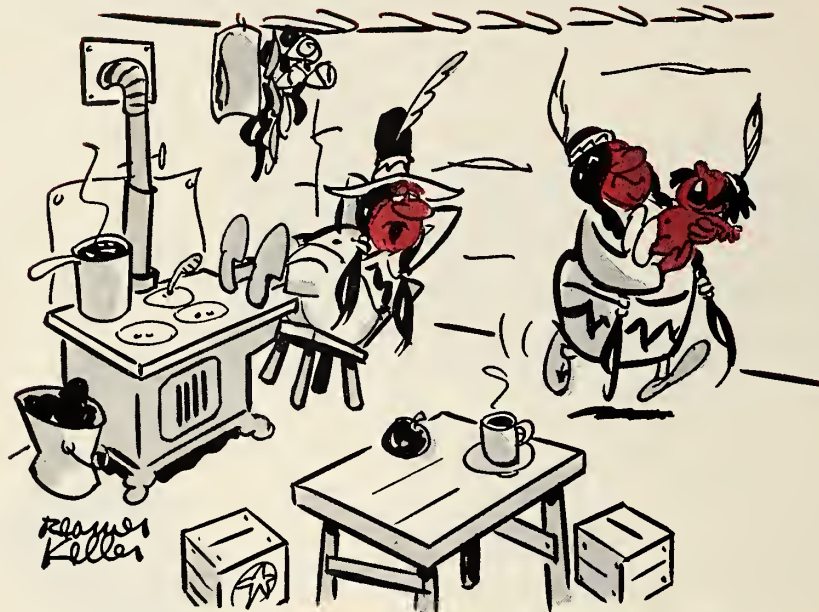
It's easy to borrow by mail. If you are steadily employed, you can borrow up to \$1000 on your signature only. No endorsers, no time off from work, no personal interviews. Handled entirely by mail in strict confidence. Details mailed in plain envelope.

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\$450	\$25.91
\$650	\$36.14
\$1000	\$53.17

WORLD FINANCE CO. Dept. PW-105
620 Symes Bldg., Denver 2, Colo. 80202

NAME _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip # _____
Age _____ Occupation _____

PARTING SHOTS



"Stop pampering him. When I was his age I had my scalp collection started!"

DON'T LOOK NOW

A high school boy went out for the football team, but he proved too adept at broken-field running. After one play, he eluded all tacklers and went scooting down the field. Just before he reached the goal line, he crashed into a steel pole that stood out of bounds. When he regained consciousness, his worried coach asked what had happened. "I run faster," replied the young man, "with my eyes shut."

GILES H. RUNYON

COMPUTERITIS

A tired-looking man dragged himself through his front door and slumped into a chair.

"Busy day at the office, dear?" his wife asked sympathetically.

"Terrible," he sighed. "The computer broke down in the middle of the afternoon and we all had to think."

JOSEPH SALAK

MISTAKEN IDENTITY

An elderly bachelor lived in a small town at the end of a street that was the local Lover's Lane. One beautiful spring night he went to bed, but he was unable to sleep because his dog kept barking every few minutes directly under his bedroom window. Finally, the old man went to the window, opened it wide and yelled: "Hey, Tiger! Cut that out!"

The barking stopped, and in the ensuing stillness a young man's voice said meekly: "Yes, sir!"

DAN BENNETT

QUANTITY vs. QUALITY

A guest at a tea party had been making a nuisance of herself by her constant bragging about her marital conquests. She approached a demure, contented-looking woman toward the end of the afternoon and continued her boasting.

"I have had four husbands," she told her new listener, "and none of them was good enough for me. How many times have you been married?"

"Once," replied the pleasant-faced matron, sweetly. "I have always believed in quality rather than quantity."

F. G. KERNAN

WHICH CRAFT?

Sorcerer to would-be apprentice: "What hexperience have you had?"

DAVID GORDON

A GROAN FROM THE DOGHOUSE
Anniversaries and birthdays—
How they complicate my life,
For I'm an absent-minded husband
Of a present-minded wife!

ERNEST BLEVINS

KWEER KWIRK

It is, of course, not known how many are eccentric, but it's bound to be an odd number.

S. S. BIDDLE

BANKRUPTURE

Bankers always smile at me,
And offer me a smoke;
And grant me money readily
Except when I am broke.

I. W. SPONHEIM

SILENCE IS STILL GOLDEN

Any time the modern child can be seen but not heard, it's a shame to wake him.

HAL CHADWICK

DISENCHANTED DISTANCE

It's twenty-five million miles to Venus
It's forty-nine million miles to Mars;
And five or six trillion miles between us
And the nearest neighboring stars.
Imagine that! I'm trying to
But can't, and neither, I'll bet, can you!
So for me to race through the aisles of
space

Would be dotty as it can be
When even a hop in an old jet-prop
Scares the daylight out of me.

JIM DAVIS

BAY WINDOW

Overindulgence in drink will give you a hangover, whereas overindulgence in food will give you an overhang.

W. N. RIEGER



"He was one of those selected to test drive the experimental jet propelled autos."



**When someone hands you a better drink,
someone's been pouring better whiskey.**
(It's called Seagram's 7 Crown, The Sure One.)

And it's absolutely sure to add a special quality
to any drink you favor. Because, as everybody knows,
better whiskey makes a better drink.

Say Seagram's and be Sure



FLYING FISH! Turning rainbow trout into flying fish takes time and care. They're dropped from a plane to re-stock mountain lakes. This job keeps Dale pretty busy. Dale is a Camel smoker. He knows Camel's real taste satisfies longer.

Dale Schoeneman
FISHERIES
BIOLOGIST

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for taste that's
not really there?

**Camel's
real taste
satisfies longer!**

No fads. No fancy stuff.
The best tobacco
makes the best smoke.

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